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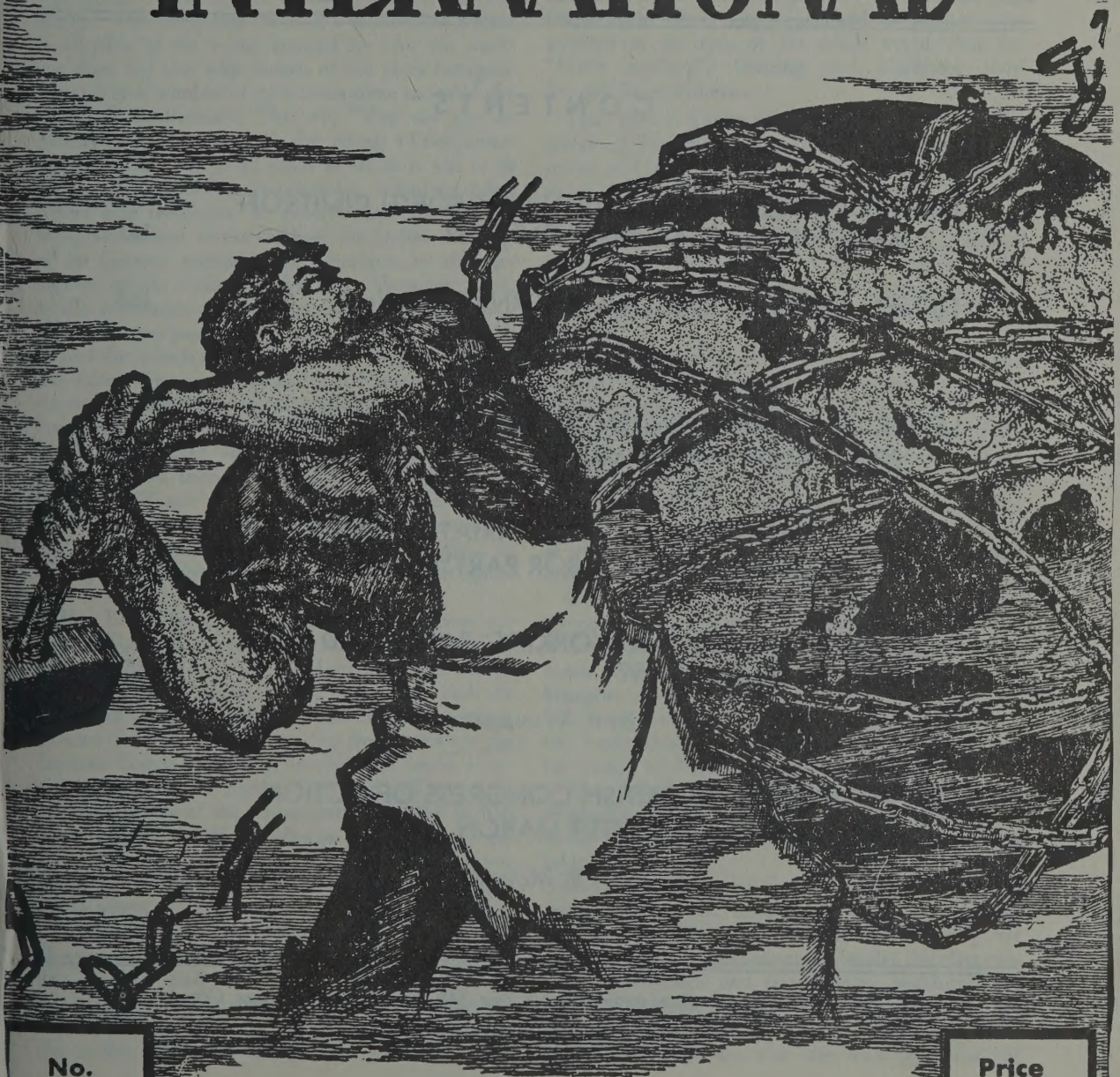

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THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTIONIST, GEORGI DIMITROFF, AND THE FIGHT AGAINST FASCISM

THE powerful protest campaign waged by the international proletariat broke up the fascist plan "to prove" by means of a trial that the setting fire to the Reichstag, actually the work of provocateurs, was brought about by the Communist Party of Germany. This campaign mobilized millions of people in all parts of the world, aroused not only the working class, but also wide masses of the petty bourgeoisie, and in a number of cases even some strata of the bourgeois intellectuals. The cry, "You are the incendiaries" was carried to the ruling Hitler clique from all sides, and in all kinds of ways. It was to be found in numberless resolutions, demonstrations, letters and telegrams, in protests and acts of the indignant masses, in the crash of the broken windows of the German embassies and consulates, in messages written on the walls and fences in Germany itself, in the proclamations issued by the German Communist Party and passed from hand to hand, and in the leaflets for which the whole mob of spies, policemen and Storm Troopers unsuccessfully hunted. The International Investigation Commission gave a firm foundation to this general conviction by bringing forward proofs that were irrefutable. The "Brown Book" was an unshakeable collection of documents of the rabid acts committed by fascist reaction in Germany, and all this forces the fascist government, the real incendiaries of the Reichstag, to defend itself against the irrefutable accusations brought aginst it.

The Hitler government which set the scene for the Leipzig trial, calculated on the *class solidarity of the world bourgeoisie in the fight against Communism.* The main object of the indictment and the main task of the picked and tamed false witnesses selected for this purpose, was to throw dirt on the German Communist Party, to show the world a terrible picture of the criminal acts and still more the terrible schemes of the Communists, in order to further intensify the bloody fascist terror against the proletariat and its Communist Party. As the newspaper of Goebbels, the fascist minister of propaganda wrote, the trial was to have shown the "world" into what an abyss Germany and with her the whole of Europe had slipped and the extent of the menace from which "civilization" had been saved by the Hitlerite so-called "national revolution". For months they tamed the "witnesses" in this spirit, some agreeing to this voluntarily due to their hatred of Communism, others—with the aid of the rubber club. It was precisely for this purpose and in order to "complete" the indictment against the Communist Party, that at a later period during the process of the trial, when (and unexpectedly for fascism) the heroic figure of Dimitroff assumed tremendous proportions in the eyes of the whole world, that the "heavy artillery", Goering and Goebbels, were brought in as witnesses.

The entire Communist movement — Goering screamed, foaming at the mouth—lives exclusively on terror and crime. Its leaders educate their subordinates in the spirit of unbridled sadism. They are people with beastly instincts and criminal intentions. "Every Communist leader has deserved the gallows three times over. As far as I am concerned the law is not something abstract, and for me the right of my people stand higher than all paragraphs of the law".

The following were the basic arguments utilized by the "witness" Goering in his efforts to stir up the international bourgeoisie. Is the necessity for convicting the guiltness a question of paragraphs of the lawbook, of juridicial formalism, and juridicial facts? No, this is a struggle against our general class enemy. Therefore, after all, what does it matter *who* set fire to the Reichstag! These people have to be wiped out as *enemies.* And even if they were not the incendiaries, they have to be recognized as such.

Goering made the following explanation to the international bourgeoisie: You must bear in mind that if Communism in Germany is no longer a dangerous force, it is *not* due to the methods adopted by the bourgeois parties previously, but only due to the fact that I was here, that I took upon myself and fulfilled this tremendous task, that I was not asleep, whereas the leaders of the old bourgeois parties slept.

The "witness" Goebbels played his comedy of prosecution before the court to the same tune, as the entire German press also did under his conductor's baton.

The basic content of the whole trial was the class struggle. However, besides the capitalist class for whom questions affecting Hitler and Goering are questions concerning themselves, besides the class conscious proletarians and revolutionary peasantry who stand on the other side of the barricades, there are hundreds of millions of toilers and exploited who are beginning to see that the only way out of

their poverty and slavery is this fight under the hegemony of the proletariat, by a difficult zig-zag path. It is far from being useless for the correlation of forces in this struggle and for its further development, to show to the broadest masses which of the fighting classes is represented and led by incendiaries and provocateurs, criminals and murderers and which by the fighters of the Dimitroff type.

It is not a matter of indifference for the further development of this struggle that when the powerful fascist minister was driven up against the wall by the smashing questions of his defenseless prisoner he mumbled, "Here in this court we are not the accused but the accusers". Nor that when he finally lost his equilibrium he publicly hurled the threat at his prisoner that he would deal with him *outside* of the court!

"You are evidently afraid of my questions, Mr. Minister", remarked Dimitroff with inperturbable calmness, and addressing himself to the stupefied chairman proposed "to write the following words in the minutes", "I am very well satisfied with the answer given by Mr. Chairman of the Cabinet of Ministers". The enraged Goering, forgetting that he was a witness, ordered the police to remove Dimitroff from the court.

The Hitler troops did not expect *this*, they did not foresee this. After "preparing" Van der Lubbe for the role he was to play, the fascists did not bother especially how the rest of the accused would behave. It never even entered their heads to suspect that four people exhausted by five months in jail, and in *their* jails—and completely cut off from all contact with the world, chained hand and foot and handed over to the arbitrary behavior of the Storm Troopers and police rascals, could in any way be a source of danger for the process and outcome of the trial which they had already fixed. Was it likely that these "tramps without a fatherland" of whom only one, Dimitroff—a compositor by trade—spoke German one way or another—could have any other aim than to somehow save their heads, to solicit pardon and a softening of their sentences? This is the way the fascist leaders thought and how they based their calculations.

Hitler, Goering and Goebbels evidently quite well remembered the last meeting of the Reichstag to which the social-democratic fraction headed by Wels was still admitted. They evidently still remembered the lackey's speech made by Wels in which he extolled the services of the social-democrats in advancing Hitler to power, as no doubt they still remembered the vote of confidence given by the social-democrats to Hitler, the way they sang the chauvinist "Deutschlandslied" together with the Hitlerites and the way they stood "at attention" during the singing of the "Horst Wessellied" in honor of the fascist pimp. Perhaps they were aware of the commentaries made by *Robotnik* and other organs of the parties of the Second International regarding this famous meeting, namely that "We will not condemn them! For they are oppressed by a horrible terror, for they are crawling on all fours, not voluntarily but under the threat of death".

The Hitlers, Goerings and Goebbels expected that the Communists when faced with the threat of death, would act as shameful flunkeys just as Messrs. the "Marxists" from the camp of the Second International, did.

You are joking, Messrs. incendiaries in ministerial armchairs! Real Marxists belong to the type of workers from Altona and Cologne who, when they placed their heads under the executioner's axe, shouted out "Red Front". You get the embodiment of Marxism-Leninism, the militant ideology of the proletariat, in Comrade Georgi Dimitroff. Here was a man tempered in many years of revolutionary struggle, in mighty proletarian struggles and in underground Party work, who yesterday was as yet hidden underground, only known to comrades who worked and fought alongside him, known only by the workers of his own country, but who today is known and has become near and dear to the hearts of millions of workers and peasants in the five continents of the globe.

His first words at the first session of the court were, "I am speaking here not as one accused but as one accusing". From that moment and during the three months that the trial lasted, he did not defend himself but day after day, took the offensive, uninterruptedly, undeviatingly, tirelessly, and utilizing every possibility.

He skillfully applied Leninist tactics in the difficult conditions of the fascist court, and never for one minute did he forget where to direct the decisive blow, or what his main purpose was. For weeks and weeks, Comrade Dimitroff fought with unweakening pressure to untie the tangled knot of lies and deceit, to expose and condemn this provocatory work. Frequently when a sharp remark caused a conflict with the Chief Justice, Dimitroff "withdrew" this or that expression and replaced it by a "softer" one, but he does it in such a way that the earlier word used acquires still greater significance and importance.*

"I will deprive you of the right to speak only for the *tone* in which you speak"—exploded the fascist

* Dimitroff: I have been called a dark character from the Balkans, a wild Bulgarian. I protest against this with all my strength. It is *only* fascism which is wild and barbarous in Bulgaria. But I ask you, Mr. Chief Justice, to tell me the country where fascism is not wild and barbarous.

Chief Justice: I am sure you don't wish to cast hints at the social relations dominant in Germany.

Dimitroff: Of course not, Mr. Chief Justice.

Chief Justice in a helpless rage. Dimitroff is constantly deprived of the right to speak. He is roughly removed from the court tens of times, without being spared curses and blows. But at the next session, he is at his post again—calm, steady and ready for the fight.

But no power can any longer drive this "tone" out of the court. This "tone" dominates the trial, oppresses the judges, upsets them, makes a laughing stock of the fascist potentates, destroys their carefully thought out plans, compels them to retreat and calls forth confusion and almost panic. This "tone" is broadcast from the court room as though from a powerful radio station, and penetrates the bleeding hearts of the working class of Germany with pride and hope, and pierces the remotest corners of the earth. It is the tone of a proletarian-revolutionist, the concentrated energy and revolutionary passion of whom have grown into an enormous power *precisely* because he is looking into the eyes of death. It is the tone in which hatred and contempt for the enemy are merged with a deep conviction in the correctness of his cause, in the proximity of its victory.

> "I know," said Comrade Dimitroff in his concluding words, "that I speak sharply and sternly, but my struggle and my life have been very stern. I am not a lawyer engaged in defending as a profession. I am *defending my political and revolutionary honor, my Communist outlook, my ideas, the content and meaning of my life.* For this reason every proposal I make at the trial is my blood, every one of my proposals is the truth; every word I pronounce before the court is the expression of my deepest indignation against an unjustifiable accusation. . . .
>
> "*It is really true that the highest law for me, as a Communist, is the program of the Communist International. It is true that the highest court for me as a Communist is the Control Commission of the Communist International.*"

It was only the international campaign of protest that compelled the Hitler government to hold an open trial. Comrade Dimitroff skillfully utilized this situation which had been won by the tremendous mass movement, and became transformed from the one accused into actually being the leader of the further struggle and further campaign. In Germany, with its Hitlerite "unification" (Gleichschaltung) of concentration camps and the executioner's axe, Communism won a legal tribune through the courageous fight of Dimitroff. At the trial, accounts of which reached the remotest corners of the earth, the representative of Communism politically exposed the Goebbels and Goerings, their provocations and false witnesses.

How unlike the meeting of Wels with Hitler at the Reichstag memorial meeting! In reply to the accusation that he was carrying on Communist propaganda in front of the court, Dimitroff declared with bitter irony that:—

> "The speeches of Goebbels and Goering here also had a propaganda effect, but no one can accuse them of making speeches which had just *such* a propagandist effect." (*Movement and laughter in the court.*)

And Goebbels himself indirectly confirmed his defeat when he issued an order to the German press forbidding them to devote more than sixty lines daily to the trial, and ordering them to adhere strictly to the official communiques. The withdrawal by the prosecuting attorney of the accusation against the three Bulgarians "because of lack of evidence", and the verdict which was, of course, agreed on in advance with the ruling clique, acquitting all the four Communists, displayed the defeat of fascism to the whole world.

But Dimitroff did not rest content with this victory but attacked to the end. The court and the public were amazed when in answer to the attorney, he brought forward his own proposals:—

> "The Attorney-General has declared that the Bulgarians should be acquitted because of insufficient evidence. I do not agree with this.
>
> "I make the following proposal regarding the sentence: To consider them as not guilty, and the accusation made against them incorrect, this to refer to all, to Torgler, Popoff and Taneff. To regard Van der Lubbe as a weapon utilized to injure the working class. To find the ones really guilty of setting fire to the Reichstag and put them in our places. To reimburse us for time lost at this trial."

At this point the Chief Justice interrupts Dimitroff. The court retires for a conference and on returning announces that Dimitroff is finally deprived of the right to speak.

On February 27, exactly on the anniversary of the monstrous Hitler provocation, the heroes Dimitroff, Taneff and Popoff arrived in the U.S.S.R., the fatherland of the international proletariat. The political struggle around the trial on the Reichstag fire, and the trial itself which became the arena of a struggle between Communism and fascism, were won and were completed, by the mighty triumph of Communism. This will have and is already having a profound influence on the further development of the class struggle in Germany and throughout the world.

This defeat of fascism is also a defeat for the social-fascists who licked the boots of the Hitler gang. Let us not be blinded by the fact that the social-fascist press, as well as part of the bourgeois press, solidarized themselves or even participated in the campaign for the defense of the accused Com-

munists. The social-fascist parties would have committed *political suicide* if they had taken up a different position. It is easy to imagine what indignation would have been aroused even among the social-democratic workers if the social-fascists had attempted to support the Hitler provocation, and had joined with Goering against Dimitroff. At the beginning, some of the social-fascist papers tried to utilize the fascist accusations against Communism. But later, under the pressure of the masses they came forward in "defense" of the accused, although with clenched teeth.

Thus two papers of the Polish Socialist Party, the Krakow *Napshood,* and the *Vov Dzenik* wrote in similar articles on the day following the Reichstag fire, *viz.:*

> "The firing of the German parliament buildings by the Communists makes clear the monstrous role of Communism in the present epoch. What wreckers! What a support for reaction! To commit such a crime, for the fire's red glow illuminated Hitler with the halo of a savior. Just as in Italy the Communists called fascism into being by their madness, pushed Mussolini forward and drove the Italian people into slavery, so in Germany the Communists have cast the country under Hitler's feet. To set fire to parliament just when decisive struggles between the democratic parliamentary order and the Hitler dictatorship were taking place! Nothing has been such a hindrance to the historical development of the strivings of the proletariat as Soviet Moscow, and as long as it infects the world not a single liberation movement will be guaranteed against the sudden knife thrust which it aims at its back."

The leading article in the central foreign organ of German social-democracy is penetrated through and through by this common front of social-democracy and fascism.

> "Never as yet," we read in the *Neuer Vorwarts* Nov. 28, 1933, "has the Communist International been able **to win real world popularity** for one of its members. And only Werner, the Attorney-General of the 'Third Empire,' dragged Dimitroff out of the darkness of his life as emigrant and gave him the opportunity of winning himself respect and sympathy everywhere. And only Goering *compelled* (underline by editor) all decent people to take this Communist under their protection. *Dimitroff is the most popular person in the world today, honor to Hitler!*
>
> "The Third International has good reasons to thank the 'Third Empire' for the trial of the Reichstag fire affair. The world looks in amazement at the methods with which present day Germany is carrying on the fight against Bolshevism."

It is clear that Hitler lost his head in the struggle against Bolshevism. When we, the Welses, Grzezinskis, Noskes and Hoertzings, settled accounts with the Communists, "decent people" were on our side, and were not "compelled" to defend them. It is not enough to have a hangman if you are to save capitalism. To do so, cleverer and more cunning methods must be used, as *we* are able to. This is the real content and sense of the "fight against fascism" which they are trying to hide under ringing, puffed up phrases.

* * * * *

Dimitroff and his comrades were acquitted by the fascist hangmen of the working class but continued to languish in the stony underground torture chambers of the fascists. Under the pressure of the public opinion of all countries, under the pressure of the extensive campaign of protest of the international proletariat, the Hitler government was compelled to deny itself that monstrous sentence which was to have "proven" the guilt of the Communist Party of Germany as having set fire to the Reichstag, and to have been the starting point for every new beastly act of the fascist butchers. But when the fascist government acquitted Dimitroff, it thought least of all of releasing them. The "acquittal" of Dimitroff only signified that they withdrew the demand for obtaining his head in legal fashion. Goering got ready to fulfill the threat he made in court—to settle accounts with his prisoners in his own way—all that was necessary was to wait some time for the trial to be forgotten, for Dimitroff's fight to get hidden away by some kind of "new sensation", for settlement of accounts made out of court not to call forth a new wave of indignation against fascist Germany, indignation expressed even by such a classically well-intentioned bourgeois journal as the London *Times,* in its efforts to please the moods of the broad masses of the petty bourgeoisie.

This is how fascism calculated things and prepared revenge on those who broke up, and exposed its provocation before the entire world and, before all, revenge on Comrade Dimitroff. But it left one thing out of account, namely, that there is "a place on the earth called Moscow" (Dimitroff). The refusal of Bulgarian fascism to consider Dimitroff, Popoff and Taneff as citizens of fascist Bulgaria seemed to all intents and purposes to have handed the acquitted Communists over into the hands of Goering's men.

But instead of being citizens of fascist Bulgaria, Comrades Dimitroff, Popoff, and Taneff became citizens of the country of dictatorship of the proletariat. And this decided their fate. This predetermined their liberation.

The U.S.S.R. threw its gigantic power on the scales in defense of its new citizens, who in spirit were already its citizens during the whole period of the trial, and were near and related to the toiling masses

of the Soviet Union. The U.S.S.R. presented fascist Germany with a diplomatic demand for the immediate liberation of the Soviet citizens who are being held in jail unlawfully. The plans of the Hitler executioners were smashed again. Germany would have been morally isolated from the entire world in a conflict with the U.S.S.R., which would have inevitably followed had Germany refused to carry out the *lawful* demand of the Soviet Union, lawful even from the point of view of bourgeois law.

This is how the last phase of the Leipzig trial ended. After its collapse at the trial, fascism lost once again after the trial.

The fascist government official Heller, a former social-democratic activist (there are not a few such former social-democratic activists in Germany who together with Loebe and Severing openly went over to fascism, and became activists of the Fascist Party)—asked Comrade Dimitroff "to maintain an objective point of view when in the U.S.S.R." and to only speak the truth of Germany. "I will be very objective, but *I do not hide my hopes* to be in Germany again as a guest of the German Soviet Government."

Yes, Comrades Dimitroff, Popoff and Taneff have no reason not to speak the truth. The truth about fascist Germany, the truth of the real struggle of the German working class and its heroic Communist Party, whose unselfish and active work the police officials of fascism are even compelled to recognize, and the truth of the trial indict fascism to a much greater extent and much more clearly than anything which could be invented about it.

Dimitroff, Popoff and Taneff can and do speak the truth when they fully "preserve an objective point of view."

This is why on the day of their arrival in the U. S.S.R., and in their interview with Soviet and foreign journalists Dimitroff had every right to state that the outcome of the trial was "*that the provocation staged by German Fascism and directed at the destruction of many thousands of proletarians was paralyzed*" and that "*No one in Germany now thinks that the Communists set fire to the Reichstag, while there are many among the rank and file of the National Socialists who are convinced that the fire is the work of the Fascist leaders*", and that the "*result of the anti-Communist trial was a mighty anti-Fascist demonstration and a shameful failure for Fascism.*"

This is why Comrade Dimitroff, while "preserving complete objectivity" could declare with conviction to the representatives of the world press that "the great German Communist Party stands unwaveringly at its post."

Due to the courage and Bolshevik firmness of Dimitroff, the trial against Dimitroff, and against the Communist Party of Germany was transformed into a trial against German fascism. Ever new masses of German workers are being attracted to the struggle under the banner of the German Communist Party, including also those who yesterday as yet, were poisoned by social fascist influence. In spite of the orgy of the bloody fascist terror, and the murder of the best leaders of the German proletariat, in spite of all the tremendous difficulties, the fight against the fascist dictatorship in Germany is growing. The counter-revolutionary slander of the Trotskyites who tried to make the Communist Party of Germany and not the social fascists responsible for the victory of fascism, has been smashed to bits. The German Communist Party is the only Party which has led and is leading the proletariat to the struggle against fascism, and is leading to the revolutionary overthrow of the fascist dictatorship, to the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, to the formation of a government of Soviets.

Due to the heroic struggles of the glorious German Communist Party, the hope expressed by Comrade Dimitroff that he would "again be in Germany as guest of the German Soviet government" is also the hope and firm conviction of the German working class and the entire international proletariat.

The task of the Communists of all countries—is to come to the help of the heroic struggle of the German Communist Party with the same devoted unselfishness as displayed by Comrade Dimitroff.

German fascism has set itself the task of physically annihilating the flower of the German proletariat—her best sons, all the most outstanding Communists who have fallen into its claws. The murder of Comrade Scheer is an ominous foreboding in this regard. Now there is a great menace hanging over the head of Comrade Thaelmann and many other proletarian Communist prisoners who are languishing in the torture chambers of German fascism. The preparations for the trial of Comrade Thaelmann are already being completed. New falsifications have already been manufactured, new "material evidence" against him, which is being demonstrated to the correspondents of the foreign press. The immediate task and sacred Party duty of the Communists of all countries—is to let loose a storm of indignation against the German fascist executioners, to unfold such a mass movement for the liberation of its victims, as was let loose in connection with the liberation of Comrade Dimitroff. Millions are shouting loudly "Long Live the Hero, Comrade Dimitroff!" To this we must more and more link up the militant cry of millions: "Free the beloved leader of the German proletariat, Comrade Thaelmann."

FIFTEEN YEARS OF THE COMINTERN

By O. PIATNITSKY

(Concluded from last issue)

III. SOME INDICATIONS OF THE POWERFUL REVOLUTIONARY UPSURGE OF THE WORKERS' AND PEASANTS' MOVEMENT

In the overwhelming majority of capitalist and colonial countries a revolutionary crisis does not yet exist, but a revolutionary upsurge, a powerful rise of the workers' and peasants' movement is developing with unprecedented force, though far from evenly; the revolutionary crisis is maturing. However the bourgeoisie may rage, and in a number of countries pass over to open terrorist dictatorship and the merciless suppression of the actions of the toilers, the revolutionary upsurge finds expression in stubborn economic and political strikes, in demonstrations and hunger marches, in peasant unrest and partial insurrections and also in outbreaks of unrest in the army and navy.

I will give a few figures showing the growth of the strike movement in recent years.

In four years, from 1929 to 1932, according to incomplete figures, chiefly official and therefore below the real state of affairs, in fifteen countries (Germany, France, Great Britain, U.S.A., Belgium, Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Austria, Switzerland, Denmark, Canada, Holland, Japan, India and China), there were 25,398 strikes with 12,311,200 strikers who lost a total of over 100,000,000 working days.

In 1933, the number of strikes, strikers and days lost was at least as great as in 1932, *i.e.*, there were about 7,000 strikes, 4,000,000 strikers and 22,000,000 working days lost (summaries for 1933 do not yet exist). Thus we may consider that for the last five years in fifteen countries alone there were 32,000 strikes, 16,00,000 strikers and 122,000,000 working days lost. This extent of the strike struggle is all the more striking because it takes place in the presence of tremendous unemployment. At the same time the strikes which have taken place in this period took place in most cases apart from and against the will of the T.U. bureaucrats. They were accompanied by sharp clashes of the workers not only with the employers but also with the government apparatus. The strikers are using new forms of struggle, and in particular have adopted the method of seizing and not leaving the factories, mills and mines, taking possession of the offices and warehouses of the enterprises and trusts, and simultaneously taking steps to maintain contacts with the workers of other factories, etc., and bringing about a spread of the strike.

The chief causes of the strikes have been the struggle against repeated wage-cuts, against the frantic growth of the intensification of labor, against mass dismissals, etc. In cases where the strikes were carried out on a united front basis with the participation of the workers of all views and headed by an independent leadership and not by the bureaucrats of the reformist and yellow trade unions, the strikers were able in a number of cases (even in such fascist countries as Japan, China, Italy and Germany in 1933), to secure the satisfaction of their demands, even if only partially. Thus they partly held back the merciless attack of the bourgeoisie on their standard of living.

In all capitalist and colonial countries during this period big demonstrations and hunger marches of the unemployed, organized and led by the Communists, have often been repeated. In many countries there have been peasant movements and outbreaks against the unbearable burden of taxes and debts, against the speculative reduction of prices on agricultural produce by the trusts, against growing poverty and ruin.

The Twelfth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. in September, 1932, stated in the theses on the report of Comrade Kuusinen on the international situation that "the present situation is fraught with unexpected outbursts and sharp turns of events". The correctness of this estimation was confirmed immediately after the Plenum. We remember the Geneva events in November, 1932, when a peaceful workers' demonstration was turned into a bloody slaughter, into the fraternization of soldiers and workers, into big protest strikes of the workers; the revolt in the Dutch navy on the cruiser "Die Seven Provinzien"; the strike of the Rumanian railwaymen accompanied by barricade fighting and ending in mass shooting; the Belgian miners' strike; the events in Cuba; the fascist coup d'etat in Germany; finally, the latest events, the general strike in France and the uprising of the workers in Austria.

The victory of German fascism, the destruction of all the economic and political gains of the proletariat, the total destruction of the workers' mass organizations, the brutal fascist terror, the surrender by German social-democracy and the reformist trade unions of all the positions held by the proletariat, have had a great influence on the workers of the entire world.

This can partly explain the deeds of the majority of the French proletariat in February, 1934, in all the industrial centers of the country in reply to the numerous demonstrations of the fascists. These actions of the proletariat took the form of big demon-

strations and a stupendous strike. Led by the Communist Party, the French proletariat went out and demonstrated against the fascists, partially on the 7th and especially on the 9th of February, despite the prohibition of the authorities, the mobilization of the government, police, gendarmes and troops, despite the open appeals of the reformist trade unions not to participate in the demonstrations, and the maneuvers of the socialists who on the eve of February 9 called a general strike for February 12 with a view to disrupting the demonstration called by the Communists for February 9.

The Austrian workers began a political strike without waiting for the call of the trade unions and the Social-Democratic Party. The C.C. of the Social-Democratic Party sanctioned the strike when it had already begun and had turned into an armed insurrection despite the wishes of the social-democratic leaders.

These last events have shown that the workers are liberating themselves from the influence of reformism in spite of all the maneuvers of the latter, and that they are prepared to block the path of the advance to fascism. This makes it obligatory on the Communist Parties to unite and rally the working class for the struggle against fascism, against the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, and for Soviet power. For this purpose the Communists must in every way intensify, among the workers, the struggle against and exposure of the Social-Democratic Parties and the reformist T.U. bureaucrats. In order to successfully carry out these tasks it is necessary to carry on increased work in the mass workers' organizations which still follow them, especially in the trade unions.

IV. THE SHORTCOMINGS AND TASKS OF THE SECTIONS OF THE C.I.

Can we say that the Communist Parties have made sufficient use of the discontent of the broad masses and the departure of the organized workers from reformism? This question is especially important from the point of view of the tasks which face the Communist Parties, particularly at the present time when the revolutionary crisis is maturing and gathering force, when the world is approaching closely to a new round of revolutions and wars? No, we cannot.

In his report to the Seventeenth Congress of the C.P.S.U. Comrade Stalin considered it necessary to emphasize that "The victory of the revolution never comes about of itself. It has to be prepared and won. And it can only be prepared and won by a strong proletarian revolutionary party". Have we many such strong proletarian parties in the C.I.? No, only a few.

Can we say that the growth of the strength of the sections of the Comintern, which is unquestionable, corresponds to the degree at which the masses of workers and peasants are being revolutionized? Unfortunately, we cannot give an affirmative reply to this question either.

As far back as the Sixteenth Congress of the C.P.S.U., the resolution on the report of the delegation of the C.P.S.U. in the E.C. of the Comintern emphasized the necessity of doing away with the situation where the sections of the Comintern lag organizationally behind their growing ideological and political influence. This task has not by any means been fulfilled, whereas it is now taking on still greater importance, and its solution must be secured at all costs.

When war breaks out the sections of the Comintern, which are still legal or semi-legal, will be driven underground by the bourgeoisie. Therefore, the question of the work of the Communist Parties under illegal conditions takes on tremendous importance. When the bourgeoisie drive the Communist Parties underground, they set themselves the task of destroying the vanguard of the proletariat, of isolating it from the working class. It can be stated without exaggeration that the bourgeoisie has not succeeded in destroying the sections of the Comintern in a single country, that no terrorist methods of the bourgeoisie have proved effective in liquidating the work of the Communists. But this is not enough. In actually carrying on mass work there are still a number of weaknesses and shortcomings in the majority of even the legal sections of the C.I. This is also the case in the illegal Parties. We must bring about the widening and strengthening of contacts with the masses whatever the conditions under which we work. The development of mass Bolshevik work, the improvement of its content, the use of more flexible forms, the strengthening and deepening of the contacts of the Party with the masses and above all with the factories and mines, are still not in the center of the attention even of the legal and semi-legal sections.

If, on the one hand, terror and persecution make the mass work of the Communist Parties difficult, then under the conditions where the growing exploitation and impoverishment of the masses is growing, they, at the same time, make it easier to develop this work by breaking up "democratic" illusions among the masses and rendering them more susceptible to revolutionary agitation and propaganda. It is only a question of learning how to carry on this Communist agitation and propaganda among the masses and of being able to consolidate organizationally the ideological and political results obtained both in legal and illegal conditions.

The chief reason why the sections of the C.I. fail to carry on sufficient mass Bolshevik work, despite the numerous resolutions of the Comintern and of the sections themselves, is the existence both of social-democratic survivals and of a sectarian outlook which have not yet been uprooted from the practical work of the vast majority of the sections. But if these sur-

vivals have hindered our work in the past, then during war time, and when war is being prepared they may have fatal consequences. Therefore, the Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. paid special attention to the question of improving mass work.

1. The Communist Parties do not carry on a sufficiently systematic ideological struggle against social-democracy and other opponents at the meetings they call of workers, office workers and peasants. In the struggle against social-democracy two kinds of mistakes are made: a. Instead of carrying on an ideological struggle the Communists frequently try to get away with simple abuse, calling the workers who are members of S.D. organizations and reformist trade unions, fascists or little Zoergiebels. There have been cases of this kind in Germany and a number of other countries. b. On the other hand, quite a number of Communists look on the Social-Democratic Parties as genuine workers' parties, and if they carry on an ideological struggle, it is directed exclusively against the S.D. leaders. Such has been the case in Czecho-Slovakia, France and in some Party organizations in Switzerland.

It is further forgotten that as social-democracy becomes increasingly fascized, it intensifies its demagogy, adapting itself to the radicalization of the masses, and dishonestly plays with the slogans of the "dictatorship of the proletariat", "workers' power", etc., so as to restrain the masses who are leaving it.

Thus, for instance, in the platform of the C.C. of the German Social-Democratic Party published in the *Neuer Vorwarts* on January 28, 1934, it states that "the overthrow of the national-socialist enemy by the revolutionary masses will lead to the formation of a strong revolutionary government", which must immediately carry out measures to completely destroy the power of the defeated enemy. Among these measures are the confiscation without compensation of heavy industry, big estates, etc., and also the breaking up of the old political apparatus.

In the resolution adopted by the Congress of the Polish social-democrats which took place in February, 1934, the Congress puts forward the slogan of "workers' and peasants' government" which "in the transition period will have the character of a dictatorship necessary to prevent the attempts of counter-revolution". In the same resolution it states that "this government can arise only as the result of the *mass struggle of the workers and peasants* and of overcoming illusions among the masses that *any power can improve their lot within the framework of the capitalist system* without the final overthrow and destruction of the state power of the ruling classes" (*italics in resolution*).

2. The Communists do not sufficiently expose the fascists to all the toilers as the most reactionary, the most chauvinist and most imperialist groups of finance capital. New material is provided every day by fascist policy enabling us to show plainly to the toilers of all countries in verbal and written agitation that the fascist dictatorship brings the worst forms of economic and political slavery to the workers, peasants and the lower strata of the petty bourgeoisie. When calling for resistance to the terrorist gangs of the fascists, the Communists do not sufficiently carry on a struggle against fascist ideology, chauvinism and racial hatred, nor do they contrast it sufficiently with proletarian internationalism.

3. The Communist Parties carry on practically no stubborn and systematic work in the reformist and fascist mass trade unions, not only in those countries where there are legal and illegal red trade unions (Czecho-Slovakia, France, America, China, Japan), but also in countries where these do not exist. As systematic work is not sufficiently carried on in the mass organizations of our opponents, there are practically no Communist fractions which could consolidate the influence of the Party in these organizations and win the best elements for the Party. When, during the big revolutionary fights in 1920 Lenin saw dangerous tendencies to neglect revolutionary work in the mass organizations of the enemy, in the speeches of some of the "left" Western European Communists, he devoted a special chapter to this question in *Left-Wing Communism*: headed "Should Revolutionaries Work in Reactionary Trade Unions". Lenin wrote: that "Not to work within the reactionary trade unions means to leave the insufficiently developed or backward working masses under the influence of the reactionary leaders, agents of the bourgeoisie, the labor aristocrats or 'bourgoeisiefied' workers" (*Left-Wing Communism,* London, p. 37).

It is true that in some places Communists have recently begun to work in the reformist trade unions. They no longer call on the workers to leave the trade unions, to refuse to work in them. They even make decisions to carry on work in the reformist unions, but in spite of their own decisions and the decisions of the Comintern, they actually use all kinds of pretexts not to carry on this work. And the result is what Lenin foresaw in 1920. In spite of the fact that the reformist trade unions have participated in lowering the standard of living of the workers, in mass dismissals, etc., the T.U. bureaucrats have in many cases been able to hold the unions back from the struggle against the bourgeoisie. Why? On the one hand owing to the fact that they have carried on painstaking work, have given sick benefits to the trade union members, and relief during disablement and unemployment, have defended the members of their unions when dismissed, at the expense of the unorganized and revolutionary workers. And on the other hand owing to the fact that the Communists have not worked inside these

unions and have not been able to expose their maneuvers.

How can we explain the fact that up to now the Communists have not carried on any real work in the trade unions in spite of the instructions, the concrete directives and the repeatedly open criticism made by the Comintern and the R.I.L.U.? I will mention some of these reasons:

a. After the war, the revolutionary elements who left the Social-Democratic Parties and reformist trade unions because of the treachery of the latter joined the Communist Parties just formed. Therefore, right from the time when the Communist Parties were formed they took up an unfavorable attitude to the work in the reformist trade unions..

b. When the Social-Democratic Parties split, that section of the active elements who had experience in trade union work remained in the Social-Democratic Parties.

c. In the countries where there are red trade unions, all the Communists have limited themselves to work in the red trade unions. In those countries where there are no red trade unions but where the T.U. opposition was formed, they have formed their parallel apparatus, and rightly so, but they did not at the same time carry on work inside the reformist trade unions. This is why the T.U. opposition, when organizing and conducting independent strikes, was unable to draw the members of the reformist trade unions into the strike struggle, and consequently was unable to consolidate its position in the reformist trade unions.

d. As the result of this poor work in the trade unions, the Communists have been unable to offer the necessary resistance to the expulsion of Communists and revolutionary workers from the trade unions, which in turn has still furthr weakened the positions of the Communists in the trade unions.

One of the decisive reasons why despite their active participation and frequently their leadership of strikes, the Communists in France and Poland, in Great Britain and the U.S.A. and also in other countries have not sufficiently widened (the main thing is that they have not consolidated) their influence, is the fact that they have not worked in the reformist trade unions and other mass workers' organizations.

The Communists will not be able to consolidate their influence in the trade unions if they do not carry on a struggle for every elected post in these organizations. "This struggle must be mercilessly conducted until, as was done in our case, all the incorrigible leaders of opportunism and social chauvinism have been completely exposed and thrown out of the unions". (Lenin, *Left-Wing Communism,* London, p. 36).

4. The Communists carry on little work in the reformist trade unions, and still less in the fascist and company unions. Of course, work in the fascist unions presents still greater difficulties than work in the reformist unions, and the Communists need not only selflessness but also flexibility, a special ability to formulate demands that will rally the members around them, etc., so as to successfully carry out their tasks.

While struggling in every way against the formation of fascist trade unions, Communists cannot refuse to work in them once they have taken on a mass character. Work inside the fascist unions is possible and necessary. It is especially necessary now that parallel to the reformist trade unions and side by side with them, the bourgeoisie are building their own mass trade unions under their direct, open and unlimited guidance, and are, by various means compelling the workers to join these unions. Thus as a result of the measures taken by Roosevelt in the U.S.A., not only did the A. F. of L., according to its own statement, increase its membership by a million and a half, but the company unions organized by the bosses on the basis of openly subordinating the workers to the bosses now have 5,000,000 members, according to the bourgeois press. The fascists who possess state power not only seize the reformist unions but, as in Poland, construct their fascist unions parallel with the P.P.S. and nationalist unions. Finally, in addition to the trade unions, the fascists who suppress every kind of workers' organization, whether cultural, sports or any other not under their direct control, are trying to get the workers, both adult and youth, men and women, to join special organizations under the pretext of satisfying their needs (*Dopo Lavoro* in Italy, *Kraft durch Freude* in Germany, etc.).

All that has been said of the work in the trade unions fully applies to the work in the other mass organizations of the enemy.

Of course, increased work in the trade unions and other of the enemy's mass workers' organizations by no means signifies the dissolution of the trade unions and mass organizations which are under the influence of the Communist Party. These organizations should be strengthened and above all transformed into real mass organizations where the leadership of the Communists is ensured through properly working Communist fractions.

5. Increased work in the reformist and fascist unions is indissolubly connected with the improvement and extension of the work of the Communists in the factories. Experience shows that this work is quite possible, despite the fact that in all countries, especially in the fascist countries, the bourgeoisie are trying to cleanse the factories of unreliable workers, in spite of the fact that the entire network of fascist organizations in the factories is directed towards throwing the revolutionary workers out of industry.

In connection with a certain increase of production in a number of capitalist countries and the introduc-

tion of the short working week, in spite of the frantic intensification of labor, new workers are nevertheless being brought into the factories. This makes it possible for revolutionary workers to penetrate into the factories and to carry on work there. At the same time, the conditions of work in capitalist factories are becoming more and more unbearable. The workers, especially in the war factories, see with their own eyes how the various capitalists are enriching themselves on plunder and how the conditions of wage slavery of all the workers are being worsened. However, the Party organizations take the line of least resistance. The few members of the Party who have still remained in the factories after the dismissals during the crisis prefer to be in street cells in their place of residence. The Party organizations have not sufficiently realized the necessity of organizing cells in those factories where Communists have kept their jobs. They have not sufficiently realized the necessity of overcoming the difficulties of work in the factories by recruiting into the Party the workers who are still in employment.

The factory, the mill and the mine, more than ever before must now become the fortresses of Communism.

6. The Communist Parties have had great influence among the unemployed, but it was only in the first years that they formed organizations among the unemployed. Recently the work among the unemployed has been neglected by the sections of the C.I. and the revolutionary trade unions. The fascists are trying to penetrate among the most unfortunate of the unemployed who do not receive any relief. We must decisively take up the work among the unemployed.

The bourgeoisie, with the aid of social-democracy and the T.U. bureaucrats, are systematically cutting down all forms of social insurance, especially unemployment insurance. They are stopping the payment of relief to the unemployed. The bourgeoisie are introducing forced labor on an unprecedented scale, chiefly for war purposes, at miserable wages, and with barrack discipline. As the result of this, part of the unemployed are temporarily drawn into a peculiar process of production where conditions of unlimited exploitation prevail.

Along with this, mass Bolshevik work in the forced labor camps, on social and civil work, etc., takes on special importance at the present time.

Among the unemployed there are very many members of trade unions and other mass organizations. Communists will be able, thereby, if they increase their work among the unemployed, to penetrate into these mass organizations and consolidate themselves there.

We must in every way strengthen the mass struggle for social insurance and relief for the unemployed.

7. The historic victory of socialism in the U.S.S.R., and the proof to the whole world of the unlimited possibilities facing the country of the proletarian dictatorship in regard to the development of productive forces, in raising the well-being of the wide masses of toilers, has a tremendous influence on the workers, employees and the basic masses of the peasants in the capitalist world. This influence is growing year by year and month by month. The Communist Parties must make a much more energetic, complete and active use of the loyalty and love of these toiling masses for the land of the proletarian dictatorship, in order to extend and consolidate their influence among the masses.

8. The shortcomings given here are deepened and partly explained by the fact that Party decisions are not made known to every member of the Party, red trade unions, and T.U. opposition. This applies both to the decisions of the organs of the C.I. and the leading organs of the Party itself. These decisions are not sufficiently popularized by the Party and in most cases there is no check over their fulfilment. Among the activists of the Party there is no small number of "honest babblers" who restrict themselves to passing resolutions and think that these will be carried into practice by themselves.

> "Good resolutions and declarations for the general line of the Party are only the beginning of the matter for they signify only the desire to conquer but not the victory itself. After the correct line has been given, after the correct decision of a question the success of a matter depends on organizational work, on the organization of the struggle to carry the line of the party into practice, on the proper selection of people, on the checking up of the decisions of the leading organs. Without this the correct line of the Party and correct decisions run the risk of being badly damaged. Furthermore, after the correct political line has been given, organizational work decides everything, including the fate of the political line itself—its fulfillment or its collapse." (Stalin report at the 17th Congress of the C.P.S.U.)

These words of Comrade Stalin apply entirely to the majority of sections of the C.I. The Communist Parties must not only make the broad masses aware of their decisions, but they must keep a systematic check-up on the carrying out of these decisions.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International is working to remove all the above-mentioned shortcomings.

When the Communist Parties remove all the shortcomings in their mass work and work in a Bolshevik manner, they will become transformed into the strong revolutionary parties of which Comrade Stalin spoke, and then the victory of the proletarian revolution will be achieved.

LETTER OF THE INDEPENDENT LABOR PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN TO THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

(As printed in the *New Leader,* London, January 12, 1934)

DEAR Comrades:

At its annual conference last year the I.L.P. instructed its National Administrative Council to endeavor to "ascertain in what way it could assist in the work of the Communist International." This letter was reported to you in our letter of May 18, 1933. Your reply, dated June 21, 1933, suggested a number of joint activities with the Communist Party of Great Britain, but as the N.A.C. (as directed by another conference resolution) has already planned such action directly with the British section of the C.I., this suggestion indicated no new methods of cooperation.

The N.A.C. therefore wrote you again on July 7, 1933, asking in what concrete ways, in addition to those already discussed with the C.P.G.B., the I.L.P. could assist the Comintern. Eleven weeks later came your most recent letter, dated September 17, 1933, urging further joint action with the C.P.G.B., in the pressing of certain partial demands, including a 10 per cent wage increase, and directing the attention of the I.L.P. to the possibility of joining the C.I. as a party sympathizing with Communism, with the right to a consultative vote, according to Clause 18 of the Communist program. The I.L.P. immediately acknowledged this communication, commenting on certain details of its form and content, and promising careful consideration to the principal proposal. The fulfillment of that promise is the occasion of this letter.

First, with regard to the joint action. At the September meeting of the national representatives of the I.L.P. and C.P., it was agreed to cooperate in the preparations for the National March and Congress of Employed and Unemployed Workers to press demands for the restoration of cuts and against the provisions of the new Bill dealing with the unemployed. This agreement the I.L.P. is energetically carrying out. At every stage of the preparations, from the drafting of the letter calling the first conference, the I.L.P. has taken an active part, centrally and locally.

Turning now to the international question, the E.C.C.I. is doubtless aware that the N.A.C. has no authority to assume or terminate I.L.P. membership of any political party, national or international. Such decisions can be taken only by a national conference of the Party, to which the question of C.I. association will be submitted at Easter, 1934. The N.A.C. is empowered to make recommendations, which the conference may accept or reject, and the Council's decision concerning any recommendation to be made on this matter will be determined by the E.C.C.I.'s answer to the questions now raised.

Before proceeding to these questions, however, the N.A.C. wishes to state clearly that, whatever the outcome of this discussion and whatever the I.L.P.'s organizational contact with the C.I., there are three primary political duties for all workers and working class organizations, viz.:—

1. The defense of the U.S.S.R. by all means available.

2. The creation of the broadest possible united front of militant workers in the struggle against capitalist reaction, fascism and war, and

3. The national and international union of revolutionary socialists.

There must be discussion, and there may be divergence of opinion, as to the best methods of attaining these objects, but the I.L.P. regards the objects themselves as matters beyond controversy.

With regard to the E.C.C.I.'s proposal, my council instructs me to make the following inquiries:—

1. What are the precise obligations of association with the C.I. as a sympathetic party as distinct from affiliated membership?

2. Which of the 21 conditions authorized by the Second World Congress of the C.I. in 1920 still govern affiliation, the twentieth, for example, being obviously out of date?

3. Which of them govern association as distinct from affiliation?

4. What limitation does association impose upon the self-governing powers of a national body?

5. Would the I.L.P., if associated, be free to develop its own policy and to state it publicly in its press and on its platform, even when on any issue this involved criticism of the C.I. or C.P.G.B.?

6. Would the I.L.P. delegation be free to make proposals to the E.C.C.I. relating to the structure and tactics of the Comintern?

7. Could such proposals as instanced under (6) be submitted to the forthcoming World Congress of the C.I. for discussion?

8. Would association involve any specific organizational relation between the I.L.P. and C.P.G.B.?

9. Can association in your view be a permanent position for a national party, in a country where an affiliated section of the C.I. already exists? Or is association necessarily the first step to complete affiliation? If the latter be the case, this must raise even now the whole question of the principles, struc-

ture and tactics of the C.I. and on these vital matters my council wishes to make certain observations.

While the I.L.P. naturally desires to learn precisely what obligations are consequential upon C.I. association, its decision will not be taken with reference solely to the interests of the I.L.P.: association must be considered from the viewpoint of the world revolutionary movement in general and the revolutionary movement within the sphere of British imperialism in particular.

Taking this broad view, what are the functions of a revolutionary working class International? My council interprets them as being:

1. To ensure that in every capitalist country there shall be a Party or group which accepts the follows:—

(a) The irreconcilable class struggle;

(b) The dictatorship of the proletariat expressed through working class democracy.

2. To ensure that the structure of each Party or group is based upon internal Party democracy combined with strict discipline.

3. To pool experience of the struggle in different countries.

4. To organize joint international action, including action against war.

5. To give financial and organizational assistance where possible to parties in need.

6. To prepare for the co-operation and federation of workers' republics and the establishment of a world Socialist commonwealth.

We should welcome the views of the C.I. on these points. The following considerations appear to indicate that the C.I. differs in certain respects in theory and practice from the conception of an International outlined above.

In 1920, the C.I.'s economic and political analysis led it to develop its organizational form on the assumption of the imminence of world proletarian revolution and the actuality of civil war in the chief capitalist countries. This is made plain in the 21 conditions, *e.g.*:—

> "The class struggle in almost all the countries of Europe and America is entering the phase of civil war" (No. 3).
>
> "At the present time of acute civil war" (No. 12).
>
> "The C.I., operating in the midst of most acute civil war" (No. 16).

—in consequence, it insisted upon a highly centralized authority for the formulation of policy and the direction of operations, a centralization as complete as that of a military organization. This analysis and prediction have not been confirmed by events. Though in most countries of the world the class struggle is sharpening, it has not reached "the phase of most acute civil war". But although the working class forces are not yet consolidated in a manner that would realize the world revolution, the C.I. statutes as to organization have not been reconsidered since 1920. Instead, it appears that its executives have assumed an increasingly detailed control of the operations of the national sections, and have narrowly circumscribed the latter's powers of initiative. The desires of national sections have been overridden, their policies reversed by instructions from the center, their leaders removed from office against the wishes of their members, or expelled from the Party, and whole parties forced out of the C.I. In consequence, the C.I. has been split in country after country, its growth retarded and its numbers reduced. Whilst the prestige of Soviet Russia has steadily risen, and whilst Soviet Russia has gained increasing support from the workers of other countries, the recent history of the sections of the C.I. in most countries has been one of continuous fission, their prestige is lower than in 1920, and their powers less than in 1923.

These disastrous results appear to us to follow upon the E.C.C.I.'s twofold error in organization and in tactics.

The organizational error lies in the effective control of the E.C.C.I. by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Whilst my council realizes that the constitution and formal procedure of the E.C.C.I. do not give the C.P.S.U. a numerical preponderance, this control arises from a complex of causes. These include the prestige of the C.P.S.U. as the only national section which has carried through a successful revolution, the long revolutionary experience of the Russian comrades, the environmental pressure on those members of the Comintern's Executive who reside in Russia, and the dominant financial influence of the Russian Party. In stating this, the I.L.P. wishes it to be clearly understood that no criticism is made or implied of the C.P.S.U.'s conduct of its own affairs within the U.S.S.R. But when the C.P.S.U. dominates the E.C.C.I., which it is proposed the I.L.P. should join, then it is the I.L.P.'s duty to scrutinize and appraise the results on the revolutionary movement outside Russia.

The desirability of the C.P.S.U. occupying a controlling position in the C.I. was from the first opposed by Lenin. At the Eighth Convention of the Russian Party Lenin declared:—

> "Many comrades have talked themselves into the idea of the submission of all national parties to the International Committee of the Russian Communist Party. I must answer that if anyone proposes such a thing we would have to condemn him."

Since 1927, the actions of the C.I. have nevertheless shown an increasing tendency in this direction. This practice represents one interpretation of the

"leadership exercised over the whole world revolutionary movement by the proletarian dictatorship in the U.S.S.R." (Communist Program, ch. 2, sec. 4.)

The organizational error has in turn led to a whole series of tactical errors, whose common element has been a disregard of Lenin's statement that the C.I. "can under no circumstances be built after a single model, by a mechanical uniformity and levelling of the tactical rules of struggle", and that the revolutionary Socialist's duty is to "investigate, study, ascertain, grasp the nationally peculiar, nationally specific features in the concrete attempts of every country to solve the aspects of a single international problem. . . ."

There is no need to rehearse past mistakes which are commonplaces of criticism among Communists themselves; what is desirable is to avoid them in the future. In addition to the mistakes which have arisen by reason of a seriously faulty application of the C.I. line by national sections, with which we are not dealing in this letter, there are three possible explanations of the repeated misdirection of national sections by the E.C.C.I.:—

(a) Misunderstanding by the central executive of the problems with which, in a given country, it was confronted, due either to its own remoteness from the particular area of struggle or to the misinformation supplied from its national sections.

(b) The mechanical transference of the C.P.S.U.'s analysis and sometimes of its internal differences, to the E.C.C.I. with the result that what was found to be actually the chief enemy of the proletariat in Russia was erroneously imagined to be also the chief enemy in a country whose conditions were entirely different.

(c) The deliberate policy of temporarily sacrificing the revolutionary movement in one country in order to strengthen the world revolutionary movement by safeguarding the U.S.S.R. by a network of trading agreements, non-aggression pacts, and treaties of friendship.

So far as the first or second explanations apply, the cure is obviously the ending of the C.P.S.U. control and the restoration of a genuine, as distinct from formal, democratic centralism, and the giving of greater powers of initiative and policy adaptation to the C.I.'s national sections.

With regard to (c), the I.L.P. readily concedes that the general principle may be correct, just as in battle one regiment may be sacrificed to ensure the safety and success of the main body. But who is to judge when the individual interests of any given national section have to be subordinated to the individual interests of the Russian? Obviously an international executive, representing the world revolutionary movement, and not a body controlled by the C.P. S.U., which, however sincerely it attempts to view the situation objectively, cannot possibly do so.

This question is of acute urgency owing to the present foreign policy of the U.S.S.R. Government. The I.L.P. is neither condemning nor implying condemnation of that policy, but is definitely concerned with its result upon the C.I. The U.S.S.R., in its efforts to guard against military attack from imperialist and fascist powers, has relied decreasingly on the workers in capitalist countries and increasingly on treaties with governments which are capitalist, imperialist and even fascist. It has concluded not only trading agreements which are necessary, and non-aggression pacts, which may have some value, but even treaties of *friendship* with governments which had distinguished themselves as the most ferocious executioners of the C.I.'s own members.

Thus the U.S.S.R. Government signs a treaty of "friendship" with fascist Italy, in whose jails lie hundreds of the bravest proletarian fighters. It signs a treaty with the U.S.A. Government, in which it promises not to allow the residence in Russia of any group whose object is to attack the U.S.A. or overthrow its government, and not to allow any organization on Russian soil the purpose of which is to prepare for the overthrow of the U.S.A. Government, "or the bringing about by force of a change in the political or social order of the whole or any part of the United States, its territories or possessions."

The result is that the C.I. is being driven to the position of holding back militants in some countries (*e.g.*, its propaganda among the dockers of Holland *against* the transport and economic boycott of Hitler Germany), and of promising to repudiate the essential activities of its own sections in others.

Now, while my council agrees that the U.S.S.R. Government can render its best service by building up a strong proletarian state and laying the foundations of the Socialist Commonwealth in Russia itself, it does not agree that the present tactics of the E.C.C.I. in this respect are invariably correct. It considers that the rigid and detailed control of the policy of national sections of the C.P.S.U. through the E.C.C.I. is bad, and that, within the framework of revolutionary Socialist principles, and in so far as is compatible with the objects of a working class International as outlined above, there should be greater self-government by the national sections, both in policy and in finance, than at present prevails within the C.I.

It suggests that the only practicable form of organization for the Comintern would include:—

1. The extension of the right (existing in the statute but not in fact), of criticism, which today exists only for the leadership of the C.I.

2. The preparation of important decisions of the C.I. through international discussions.

3. The replacement of the actual monopoly of the C.P.S.U. in the leadership of the Comintern by a real collective international leadership based upon Party representatives who are in the position to pass their own judgment upon the class relations in their countries.

My council would be grateful if your reply to these questions and observations could reach it by February 5, so that the reply could be considered at the council's next meeting in time for the matter to be dealt with by the annual conference.

Meanwhile, every encouragement is being given to I.L.P. members to discuss the matter of international affiliation. The *New Leader* has printed articles from members of the Right Opposition and the International Left Opposition; two invitations to M. Manuilsky to send an article setting out the C.I. viewpoint have yielded neither the article nor even an acknowledgment.

With revolutionary greetings,

I am, fraternally yours,

A. FENNER BROCKWAY, Secretary.

On behalf of the National Administrative Council of the Independent Labor Party.

LETTER OF THE POLITICAL SECRETARIAT OF THE E.C.C.I. TO THE INDEPENDENT LABOR PARTY

Moscow, February 20, 1934.

TO the Independent Labor Party
Comrades:

The National Administrative Council of your Party has sent us yet another letter, this time signed by *Mr. Brockway*. This letter, which formally inquires about the conditions of affiliation to the Communist International, consists for the most part, however, of anti-Communist and anti-Soviet slanders. This proves that the N.A.C., already at Derby opposing the line of assisting in the work of the C.I. which the conference adopted, still continues its resistance against this line.

In our two letters answering the questions raised by the N.A.C. we have already stated our opinion in detail as to how the decision of the Derby conference could be carried out. But as the members of the Independent Labor Party, now discussing the question of affiliation, are particularly interested to find out the details about the conditions of affiliation to the Communist International, we willingly explain this question.

A party that does not accept the 21 conditions and the program of the Communist International is not a Communist Party and consequently cannot be accepted by the Communist International *as one of its sections*. But a socialist workers' party, which has not yet become a Communist Party, like the I.L.P., may, according to the statutes of the C.I. (Clause 18), apply to the Executive Committee of the Communist International to become affiliated to the C.I. as a *party sympathizing* with Communism, with the right to a consultative vote. The acceptance of such an application by the E.C.C.I. does not depend upon the recognition of the 21 conditions by this party, but upon whether the party in question is a workers' party that really sympathizes with Communism. If the E.C.C.I. became convinced of this and found that the affiliation of such a party to the C.I. in a sympathizing capacity would be expedient, it would be able to participate in all the Congresses of the C.I. and meetings of the Executive Committee through its delegates, with a consultative vote, to present its proposals and suggestions and to express its opinions. Such a party is not bound by the discipline established by the statutes of the C.I. for its sections, but it has to prove in practice that it is assisting the work of the Communist International.

A party cannot be regarded as sympathizing with Communism unless it carries on an irreconcilable struggle against the bourgeoisie and for this purpose participates in the organization and development of the united front of the workers together with the Communist Party on the basis of a mutually agreed platform of class struggle demands.

A party cannot be regarded as sympathizing with Communism unless it fights against the treacherous social-democracy, against the Second International and the reformist leaders of the trade unions and comes out decisively against all attempts to create new internationals.

A party cannot be regarded as sympathizing with Communism unless it sympathizes with the slogan of Soviet power and supports the Soviet Union.

Without these political pre-requisites the *basis* for the affiliation of a party to the C.I. as a sympathizing party would be lacking.

We, of course, do not doubt that the majority of the working class members of the I.L.P. really sympathize with the Communist International. But we know that among them there are still many who think that it is possible to sympathize with the C.I. and at the same time to solidarize with "Left" reformists like Mr. Brockway, who wants to collaborate with all sorts of open enemies of the Comintern.

If the members of the I.L.P. would make an attentive comparison between the content of the letters of the N.A.C. and the letters which we sent to the I.L.P., it will not be difficult for them to discover *two fundamentally different political lines*—the one revolutionary and the other reformist. It is possible politically to sympathize with one or the other, but *not with both of them*. We direct attention particularly to the following three main questions on which the Brockway letter reveals the position of the N.A.C. or its majority.

The first question: The acute danger of a counter-revolutionary war *against the Soviet Union* is of the most important international significance at the present time. As is known, Japan is openly preparing an attack upon the Soviet Union in the Far East, using the support of British imperialism, and fascist Germany, also encouraged by British imperialism, is developing pillaging plans for carving up the European territory of the U.S.S.R.

But what does Mr. Brockway say in the letter of the N.A.C. against the threatening war plots of the Japanese, German and British governments? Not a single word! Is that an accident, "forgetfulness"? No, that cannot be an accident. We already had to remark about this same "forgetfulness" on the part

of Mr. Brockway in our last letter to the I.L.P. Besides that, he now continues, in the name of the N.A.C., the campaign of slander which he began in his notorious articles last summer against the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist International. Only he now replaces these insinuation with new and more up-to-date ones. Just as at that time he stated that we compelled our sections in the alleged interests of the U.S.S.R. to come out for "acquiescence in Japanese imperialism" and to contribute to the victory of Hitler, so he now alleges that we make them come out for acquiescence in *American* imperialism and *Italian* fascism! Is it not significant that the anti-Communist slanders that Mr. Brockway has brought up to date reflect the *present* interests of the foreign policy of the *British Government:* its conciliation with Japanese expansion, its support of Hitler, its discontent with Italy's insufficient aggressiveness against the U.S.S.R., and its antagonism to the United States?

The anti-Soviet character of the slanders contained in the letter of the N.A.C. is not easy to recognize at first glance because they are brought out under the *mask of friendship to the Soviet Union,* and hid behind the phrase: "the defense of the U.S.S.R. by all means available". But we must ask: By what means is the U.S.S.R. defended in the letter of the N.A.C.? Instead of attacking the predatory war policy of Japanese, German and British imperialism, this letter contains an incitement against the Comintern because it supports the peace policy pursued by the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Thanks to the brilliant successes of the Soviet Union in warding off the provocative acts of the imperialist powers, thanks to the unswerving peace policy of the Soviet government, its struggle for disarmament and the conclusion of numerous pacts of non-aggression, and thanks to the solidarity and support which the toiling masses of all capitalist countries gave to the U.S.S.R., it has been able to prevent the outbreak of a new world war. In England, too, the workers have clearly shown by their struggle against the war danger, against the embargo, etc,. that they realize that the peace policy of the Soviet Union fully accords with the class interests of the workers of all countries and they are therefore enthusiastically supporting it.

But it is precisely this fact that does not please such a "Left" reformist pacifist as Mr. Brockway. In full conformity with the anti-Soviet slanders of the counter-revolutionary traitor Trotsky, he is endeavoring to create a *contradiction* between the peace policy of the Soviet Union and the interests of the workers' movement in other countries. In the letter of the N.A.C. he tries to suggest to the members of the I.L.P. that the peace policy of the U.S.S.R. and of the C.P.S.U. allegedly means "temporarily sacrificing the revolutionary movement" of other countries. He has the effrontery to make the slanderous assertion that "the C.I. is being driven to the position of holding back militants in some countries" and "of promising to repudiate the essential activities of its own sections in others".

Every Section of the Comintern knows that these assertions are nothing but shameless lies. We must ask who has empowered the N.A.C. to write such unparalleled slanders and what do the members and the organizations of the I.L.P. say about it? Their elementary revolutionary duty demands that they should decisively dissociate themselves from these anti-Communist, anti-Soviet slanders.

The second question concerns the attitude of the N.A.C. to the chief slogan of the Communist International—the slogan of *Soviet Power.*

Mr. Brockway and others from the majority of the N.A.C. formerly fought for "a pacifist technique of revolution" and for the setting up of workers' councils without revolution, *i.e.,* for the legal reform of the capitalist state. Without having dissociated themselves from this reformist principle, they now suddenly announce, in the letter of the N.A.C., the new high-sounding slogan: "Dictatorship of the proletariat expressed through working class democracy".

What kind of a state form is this? The class-conscious workers of all countries know that no other form of dictatorship of the proletariat is possible than that of *Soviet Power.* They know, too, that a genuine workers' democracy is only possible under the Soviet Power. But obviously the authors of the letter of the N.A.C. did not mean that or they would have written: "Dictatorship of the proletariat expressed through the Soviet Power."

The members of the N.A.C. by no means wanted to write that. Why not? Because they are not for but against the Soviet Power which cannot be achieved through playing with revolutionary words, but only through real proletarian revolution.

A section of the British workers already realize that only revolution, only Soviet Power will bring about the emancipation of the toilers. The majority of the British workers, however, do not yet realize this and support bourgeois parliamentary democracy. The reformist leaders conceal the truth from them that parliamentary democracy is only a form of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. They are using all means to spread the illusion amongst the workers that the third Labor government will begin the democratic development towards socialism through parliamentary reforms. That is, of course, only a deception—that is the same thing which the German social-democracy promised the workers while the bourgeoisie, with the support of the social-democrats,

transformed its parliamentary dictatorship into a fascist dictatorship.

But what does Mr. Brockway say to the British workers? Does he say to them clearly and unambiguously: "Instead of the parliamentary system—the Soviet Power"? No, as a "Left" reformist in the letter of the N.A.C. he intentionally does not say anything against the deceptive illusion that the dictatorship of the proletariat can be established *without revolution,* through the reformist "pacifist technique of revolution" or legal workers' councils, but slanders the Land of the Soviets where the dictatorship of the proletariat has triumphed and where workers' democracy rules.

If the I.L.P. really wants to be a party that sympathizes with Communism, it cannot possibly at the same time associate itself with this position of the "Left" reformist opponents of the chief slogan of the Communist International—Soviet Power.

The third question refers to the struggle which the majority of the national council in its letter actually carries on against affiliation of the I.L.P. to the C.I. as a sympathizing party. This object is, of course, not openly stated, but the caricature of the organizational centralization of the C.I. made in the letter is intended to frighten away the members of the I.L.P. They say: the E.C.C.I. is only "a body controlled by the C.P.S.U.", "the desires of the national sections have been overridden" by the E.C. C.I. which has "narrowly circumscribed the latter's powers of initiative", removed their leaders "from office against the wishes of their members", etc. This gross perversion of the truth with regard to every point and at every step reveals the real aim of the authors of the letter.

We actually do stand for centralization in our organization, but this centralization does not contradict, but presupposes inner-Party democracy on the basis of the constant drawing in of the entire membership into the whole life and activity of the Party. That is what democratic-centralism means. The Brockway letter, however, pointing to the twelfth condition of the 21 conditions governing affiliation to the C.I., states that in 1920 the C.I. insisted upon "a centralization as complete as that of a military organization", and since then this centralization in the C.I. has become still worse. That is a falsification. In the 21 conditions, written by Lenin, the place referred to speaks about *discipline* (not centralization) in the *Communist Party;* it must be an "iron discipline, bordering on military discipline". In place of this Leninist thought Mr. Brockway substitutes the assertion that in the relations between the E.C.C.I. and the National Sections no inner democracy will be tolerated by the C.I., but a centralization "as complete as that of a military organization" is insisted upon. This, of course, is not and could not be the case.

The iron discipline in the Communist Party is based upon the united revolutionary line of the Party. Without this discipline the Party would not be able to fulfill its leading role in the revolutionary struggles of the workers. But the first condition both for Party discipline as well as Party democracy is that all members of the Communist Party and all Party organizations should firmly carry out the decisions of the C.I., *congresses, conferences* and *higher organs* of the Party. Discussion prior to the decision, but after the decision the united carrying out of the decisions adopted—that is the principle of Communist organization.

In a Communist Party there could not take place such a thing as has occurred in the I.L.P., *i.e.,* that after the Party conference in Derby had adopted a decision in *one direction* (in the direction of approaching the C.I.) members of the N.A.C. worked for months on end in an *opposite direction.* In any case that is not democratic centralism. Mr. Sandham, a member of the N.A.C., had unlimited freedom openly to sabotage the decision for a united front with the Communists adopted by the Derby conference, but members of the I.L.P. who issued a statement in favor of affiliation to the C.I. are being threatened in the London district with expulsion from the I.L.P. The January meeting of the N.A.C., instead of condemning such an open reformist as Mr. Sandham, on the contrary, showed him the greatest confidence by approving his parliamentary candidature. And the same meeting of the N.A.C. approved the slanderous letter to the C.I.

Therefore it is clear why Mr. Brockway and others, in the letter of the N.A.C., are complaining in the name of freedom of criticism against the firm discipline in the C.I.; this is the usual method of opportunists (exposed by Lenin and Stalin long ago), *i.e.,* to fight for the freedom of their reformist policy against the revolutionary policy of the Communist International.

It would be a welcome step if the forthcoming Party conference of the I.L.P. would throw *clarity* on the question as to whether the members of the N.A.C. of your party will have the liberty to sabotage the decisions of your party conference, to break the proletarian united front of struggle against the bourgeoisie, as Mr. Sandham has done, or to make pacts with enemies of the Comintern.

The slanders against the Communist International contained in the letter of the N.A.C. are for the most part old scrap from the arsenal of the Second International and of such agents of the bourgeoisie who have been expelled from the C.I. as Trotsky, Thalheimer, Tranmael and Lovestone. From this source

comes the statement in the Brockway letter that the Sections of the C.I. now have less influence than they had 10 years ago. This is also not true. Alongside of the gigantic growth of the C.P.S.U., the C.P. of China has a membership of 410,000 and the C.P. of Germany, which mustered almost six million votes in the Reichstag elections in 1932, has even under the present conditions of terror more than 100,000 members in its ranks apart from those tens of thousands of members of the Party thrown into prisons and concentration camps; the broad mass influence of the C.P. of France was indisputably brought to the fore in the mighty anti-fascist demonstrations of February 6-12.

A number of other sections of the C.I. have also been able considerably to extend their political influence, although there are among them sections which up to now have not been able to increase their membership or have even lost members. The Communist International is a world organization with sections in 65 different countries, and these sections, which base themselves on the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism, are characterized by a political and organizational homogeneity. At the head of the Comintern stands a collective international leadership. But we do not even think of denying that the tried Bolshevik Party of the land of the victorious proletarian dictatorship plays, through its revolutionary experience and authority, the leading role in the Communist International. All sections of the C.I. consider this leading role of the C.P.S.U. as one of the most important guarantees of their coming victories.

The members of the I.L.P. have recently taken some practical steps along the path of co-operation with the Communists in Great Britain. Your party has now the task of deciding for or against affiliation to the Communist International as a sympathizing party, *i.e.*, of choosing between the camp of the proletarian revolution and that of decaying reformism to which also the phrasemongering heroes of "Left" reformism belong.

Those who really sympathize with the Communist International cannot but unequivocally reject the Brockway letter.

The most important thing for the British workers at the present time, not only for many members of the I.L.P., but also the members of the Labor Party and the trade unions, is to liberate themselves from the influence of reformism of the right as well as the "left". Only this can guarantee the victory of the British proletariat over capitalism. The recent Austrian example has once more shown that where the liberation of the workers from the influence of the reformist traitors has not been accomplished in time, the working class, despite its great heroism, is deprived of the possibility of victory in the struggle against the exploiting classes.

Fraternally yours,
(Signed) O. W. KUUSINEN
For the Political Secretariat of the E.C.C.I.

For An Understanding of the
PROGRAM *and* TACTICS *of the*
COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

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WHAT IS THE AMERICAN WORKERS' PARTY AND WHO ARE ITS PROMOTERS?

By A. WANAMAKER

EARLY in December, 1933, the Conference of Progressive Labor Action announced the formation of a new workers' political party—the American Workers' Party (A.W.P.). Why is such a party being organized now? What factors in the class struggle in this country give cause for the formation of such a party? At first we shall state the answers to these questions given by the leaders of the A.W.P. itself.

Reverend A. J. Muste, the leader of the C.P.L.A. and now the moving spirit of the new American Workers' Party gives the changed situation in the country coming as a result of the crisis and the rising wave of class struggle as the reason for the formation of this party. Muste writes in the *Modern Monthly* of January, 1934, "Revolutionary changes have taken place in recent months, we face a new situation, and we must make a fresh approach to the question how that situation is to be met."

In speaking of the Socialist and Communist Parties, Muste continues: "Neither has established nor can establish its claim to revolutionary leadership in the U.S."

I.

In what, according to Muste, is this new situation expressed? With the advent of the Roosevelt administration Muste sees a new capitalism rising in America. In this respect Muste is repeating Roosevelt's "brain-trust" professors and also the Socialist Party. Muste writes in the above-mentioned magazine article:

"Until the crash in the fall of 1929, the U.S. had been living under the system of *laissez-faire* capitalism...." Now Muste sees the old capitalist system changing, "the Roosevelt administration, in the measures it has taken so far, has thoroughly disregarded the principles of *laissez-faire* economy". No matter how Muste may pretend to differ with the S.P., his views and analysis are the same. The Socialist Party also speaks of a new American capitalism. The *New Leader*, the central organ of the American Socialist Party, wrote on December 23, 1933: "The whole industrial system is changing under our eyes. He is blind who does not see it. When a few members of the administration admit that the old system is gone and that a socialistic system may have to replace it, then something important is happening."

What is replacing this "*laissez-faire* capitalism"? Roosevelt and his supporters say it is being replaced by "organized capitalism". The Socialist Party says: "by state capitalism, which leads to socialism." Muste also says: "Business has been told by the government to organize and is doing so." All this unanimity about the character of Roosevelt's new capitalism also expresses its opinion concerning its significance for the workers.

This American Workers' Party, through its leader, A. J. Muste, assures the workers that they also benefit under the measures adopted by the Roosevelt administration. This is expressed in the following: "Workers have been 'encouraged' to organize, and though in less measure, are doing so. The government is concerning itself with employer-employee relationships. It is engaged in carrying out a great federal public works program. It is giving direct relief to the unemployed!" And are not these the very words of the paid publicity agents of Roosevelt? The arch reactionary leaders of the A. F of L., with whom the American Workers' Party pretends to be in deadly battle, also say: "We now have by law the right to organize and to bargain collectively. This opens up a new era for us." (*American Federationist*, December; 1933.)

The Socialist Party also says: "The National Recovery Act now offers a fine opportunity for organizing the workers into unions of their own." (*New Leader*, July 1, 1933.)

Here we see demonstrated unanimity of views because of unanimity of purpose—to disarm the working class in its struggle against the Roosevelt government and thereby help American capitalism.

After eight months of the N.R.A., after repeated bloody police attacks and continuous strike-breaking, Muste still dares to speak of the "encouragement" given by the Roosevelt capitalist administration to workers to organize. True enough, for the last ten months, hundreds of thousands of workers have organized and joined trade unions. But this is surely not because of Roosevelt's "encouragement". It is precisely because the workers have fought for their right to organize, have struck in spite of Roosevelt's N.R.A. and the activity of the Labor Board.

The organizers of the American Workers' Party remind the American workers of another blessing of the Roosevelt government. "The government is concerning itself with employer-employee relationships," says Muste. And what are the benefits the workers have gained from this fatherly concern? It is not necessary to go far in search for them. We only have to ask the Weirton, W. Va. steel workers, the miners in the captive mines of the Frick Coal Co. in Penna., the Budd workers in Philadelphia and they will an-

swer to the American Workers' Party that "the government arbitration over which you rejoice so much is strike-breaking and so are all those who support and advocate it". The reactionary A. F. of L. officials with whom the American Workers' Party pretends to disagree also say: "The government will support you." Where is the difference?

Finally the American Workers' Party says through its spokesman, A. J. Muste: "It (the government) is giving direct relief to the unemployed." Let us examine the expenditures of the Roosevelt Government during the period of its existence and see how much direct relief has been given to the unemployed. It is reported that the Reconstruction Finance Corporation has spent $4,539,301,780 from February 2, 1932, to January 31, 1934. Of this money, only $299,984,999 was direct relief to the unemployed (of whom there are sixteen millions).

Though the A.W.P. and its leaders on the one hand praise the Roosevelt government for the great things it is doing for the American working masses, on the other hand they announce their opposition to the Roosevelt government and even claim that they are going to fight against it. This is done in order to fool the working masses, to disorganize their struggle, and to confuse them. Even the A. F. of L. leaders and the Socialist Party find "flaws" in the Roosevelt program and "criticize" and express dissatisfaction. The A.W.P. does not dare openly to endorse Roosevelt, and even "criticizes" his program, but does so with the main purpose of supporting the Roosevelt policies and facilitating their most effective execution. This treacherous policy of the A.W.P. was best summed up by the *Advance,* the official organ of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union of which J. B. S. Hardman, the vice-chairman of the A.W.P. and one of its major leaders, is the editor, when it states:

"Labor supports the administration. This support would be of much greater value if it were accompanied by fundamental criticism of the fallacies of the recovery program and its practices." The difference between the S.P. leaders, the A. F. of L. officials and the A.W.P. is only in this, that the A.W.P. is going to make only "fundamental criticism" of Roosevelt's program not for the purpose of defeating this program, but in order to make it "of much greater value". This is how the agents of Roosevelt's imperialist government are dividing the work amongst themselves to betray the workers.

II

After a year's experience of Roosevelt's New Deal, the American workers and toilers are beginning to see whose interests Roosevelt represents. Larger masses of American workers, disillusioned with Roosevelt's promises, are beginning to realize that only through struggle against the Roosevelt government, which is a government of finance capital, will they improve their lot. The attack, therefore, of the government against the Communist Party is especially vicious because it is the Communist Party that consistently and correctly exposed Roosevelt's program and systematically organizes the struggle of the workers against it.

The A.W.P., which is carrying out the instructions of the bourgeoisie, is trying hard to convince the American working class that the Communist Party of the U.S.A. has already outlived its historical usefulness, and that it remains for them to lead the workers to their emancipation. On what do they base their arguments and deductions? Muste is trying to exploit the Party's mistakes, resulting from some of our sectarian approaches in our mass work. The A.W.P. leaders resort to an old trick of the capitalist class in order to discredit the Party before the masses, exploiting shortcomings which the Party itself, through self-criticism brings forth and corrects.

The second argument of the A.W.P. and its leaders against the Communist Party is that if not for the October Revolution, America would never have had a Communist Party. In his article in the *Modern Monthly* Muste saye that "the C.P.U.S.A. was born primarily as a result of the Bolshevik revolution in Russia in 1917 and the repercussions of that revolution in certain circles in the U.S., mainly foreign born, rather than as a result of *factors in the American scene itself*". (My emphasis.)

At one time the membership of the C.P. of the U.S.A. consisted predominantly of revolutionaries of foreign birth. This was due to the special historical developments of the American revolutionary movement, and to the very composition of the American working class. In this respect it must be stated that the jingoistic flag-waving of the A.W.P. leaders and the attempted separation of native from foreign-born workers will only help the American bourgeoisie in furthering their persecution of the foreign-born workers.

As to the question of what really gave birth to the C.P.U.S.A., it is evident, of course, that the October Revolution, which began the epoch of the proletarian revolution, facilitated the crystallization of a Communist Party in the United States and throughout the world. But the very developments of the class struggle in the United States served as the basis for the organization of a revolutionary political Party of the working class, the Communist Party. However, what we want to emphasize here is the fact that the A.W.P. and its leaders are only repeating the arguments of the bourgeoisie and are trying to graft them on the American working class. The American bourgeoisie, the A. F. of L. leaders always shouted and still do today that the working class is a contented working class, peaceful and not revolutionary. That the American working masses, having such a broad

and democratic constitution, can always through the ballot box and their constitutional rights, make the necessary government reforms and changes without resorting to the violent revolutionary methods of the Russian proletariat. Muste does the same thing. Muste is only repeating the arguments of the American bourgeoisie that there is no basis for Communism in America, that Communism is an article of Soviet export.

In their arguments against the C.P.U.S.A. the A.W.P. leaders have not given one original argument of their own. All their arguments were taken from the old arsenal of the American bourgeoisie, and those most up-to-date were supplied to them by the advance outpost of the bourgeois counter-revolution, the Trotskyites and the renegade Lovestone group.

Finally, the leader of the A.W.P., A. J. Muste, makes his major attack on the Communist International and the American Communist Party. He accuses the Comintern of being completely under the "domination" of the Russian Communist Party and the Soviet Government. Since, according to Muste, the Russian Communists are no longer in favor of the world revolution and have become "narrow nationalists", therefore, the Communist International now acts as a brake upon the revolutionary movement in the U.S.A. Of course, this is no new argument; Trotsky has peddled it for many years. The workers of the world have rejected this counter-revolutionary slander in disgust. Muste says in the above article:

> "As it was, the Bolshevik Party of the U.S.S.R. came completely to dominate the International. This alone seriously limited its international outlook and character. The situation became less and less satisfactory as years passed. The International became an appendage of the Foreign Office of the U.S.S.R., waxing and waning, following this line and that, according to the desires of that office rather than the needs and developments of the revolutionary movement in countries where it still prevailed."

How familiar Muste's words sound. In their greater part the above ideas are taken from the report of the arch reactionary Fish Investigation Committee. They are the arguments of the strike-breaking and reactionary Civic Federation and Matthew Woll, a bitter enemy of the Soviet Union. Every class-conscious worker knows what this anti-Soviet slander is worth. In this regard we will give a fundamental reply to the question:

What is the relationship of the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R. to the International and to the Communist Parties in the 64 capitalist countries?

The Communists in the capitalist countries openly state that they learn from the experience of the Russian Communist Party. This Communist Party prepared the Communist International politically and organizationally and became developed and steeled through many years of struggle against Tsarism and the bourgeoisie, against the Russian Musteites and the opportunists in the revolutionary movement throughout the world. It is the Party which the Communists in other countries and the toilers of the world look up to as their example. We look for guidance to the Party that has overthrown capitalism, established the dictatorship of the proletariat and has successfully built the foundation of socialism in one-sixth of the world. We Communists in capitalist countries are proud of Comrade Stalin, the genius, leader of the world proletariat, under whose guidance the Soviet masses are building up a socialist society. The Soviet Union is the bulwark of the world proletarian revolution. It is this fact that gives to the working class of capitalist countries the guarantee of the correctness and assurance of the victory of their struggle. This is what the Russian Communist Party means to the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries.

The relation of the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R. to the Communist International is best of all summed up in the last letter of the Comintern to the Independent Labor Party of Great Britain (February 20, 1934):

> "We do not even think of denying that the tried Bolshevik Party of the land of the victorious proletarian dictatorship plays through its revolutionary experience and authority, the leading role in the Communist International. All sections of the Comintern consider this leading role of the C.P.S.U. as one of the most important guarantees of their coming victories."

What, however, are the A.W.P. leaders trying to do? They want to discredit the Soviet Union before the toilers of the world. They try to disarm the vigilance of the proletariat in its defense of the Soviet Union.

Mr. Muste tries to tell the American workers that this successful construction of socialism in one country is contradictory to their revolutionary interests. According to Muste, the tremendous achievements of the leading party in the C.I. cripples the revolutionary activity in the International. Muste says:

> "As years passed, and the U.S.S.R. committed itself more definitely to the so-called policy of 'socialism in one country', therefore it is impossible for an International practically completely dominated by the C.P., U.S.S.R. to properly envisage and meet the needs of the revolutionary movement in the advanced capitalist countries."

Muste even thinks that the existence of a revolutionary international hurts the revolution in a given country. Immediately after he condemns the Communist International for being "dominated" by the "narrow nationalist" C.P.U.S.S.R., Muste says:

"Furthermore, since revolution means the transfer of state power, in other words, the overthrow of existing government in any given country, it is certain that the surest way to defeat the revolution will be to have it come or appear to come not from the working masses of that country, but by order from without, *i.e.*, from a rival country."

Under the flag of struggle against the "national limitedness" of the C.P.S.U., of struggle for *Internationalism in deed,* we get the struggle against the fatherland of the international proletariat, the U.S.S.R., the fight against the Comintern, against the revolutionary movement and in defense of the interests of their own bourgeoisie. And this is now the favorite line not only of the Muste Party and the Trotskyists, but also of the Second International!

III

The A.W.P. leaders, however, do not stop at that. They also try to show to the American workers that the victories of the Soviet Union's peace policy and the defeat of the plans of the interventionists, is not a source of strength to the proletariat of other countries, but a sacrifice. The A.W.P. says that the recognition of the Soviet Union by Roosevelt hurt the revolutionary movement in the U.S.A. Listen to what Muste says:

"The recognition of the U.S.S.R. by the U.S. and developments related thereto have injected an element of realism into the situation. It is certain that the C.P., U.S.S.R. will not directly or indirectly promote revolutionary activity in the U.S."

Whatever Muste left unsaid and unclear here was clearly formulated by his colleague, Louis Budenz, one of the three main pillars of the A.W.P.—Muste, Budenz and Hardman. Writing in the official organ of the C.P.L.A., *Labor Action,* of November 8, Budenz says:

"Recognition of the Soviet Union by the Roosevelt government will serve to tie the hands of the Communist Party (U.S.A.) already suffering under diverse handicaps."

Here again the A.W.P. leaders are repeating the anti-Soviet slanders of the Wolls, Greens and Fishes. Here again they say that it is not the American workers who are fighting for the overthrow of American capitalism, but it is a plot of the Soviet Union.

The lying slander of the capitalist press to the effect that the C.P. of the U.S.A. will henceforth give up its organization and leadership of the class struggle of the American proletariat has been taken up by Muste's Workers' Party with a view to discrediting the American Communist Party and undermining the prestige of the Soviet Union. The American Communist Party has energetically mobilized the masses to fight and has exposed all those reactionary forces and their open and covered allies who were the instigators of the anti-Soviet and anti-recognition campaign in the U.S.A. and its political activity and role as the leader of the struggles of the American workers was not just based on recognition nor does it end at that. The recognition of the Soviet Union does not undermine but is a source of strength for the line of the C.P., U.S.A. Every class-conscious proletarian knows that with the growing strength of the Soviet Union the revolutionary power of the proletariat in the capitalist countries also grows. Precisely the world historic victories of the Soviet Union in the field of successful socialist construction at home and the successful peace policy defeating the plans of the interventionists and postponing a new war as long as possible give the revolutionary movement in the capitalist countries new strength and vigor. But the A.W.P. and its leaders fulfill their role as a social support of the bourgeoisie through conscious disorganization of the revolutionary class struggle in the U.S.A. by slander which they have appropriated from the bourgeoisie.

IV

What does the A.W.P. counterpose to the program and tactics of the Communist Party? What is going to be the program of the A.W.P.? What kind of a Party is it going to be in general?

Muste and his colleagues announce that in the first place, the A.W.P. is going to be an American Party. In their writings the leaders of the A.W.P. boast so much of their Americanism that they sometimes give the impression of being spokesmen for the Daughters of the American Revolution. They say that this Party is going to be "rooted in the American soil". It will be "a realistic American revolutionary Party". It will be a party "that knows its business and can 'talk United States'". J. B. S. Hardman declares that "The A.W.P. wishes to live and succeed in the United States". While Muste attacks the Communist Party of the Soviet Union for building "socialism only in one country", and pretends it repudiates internationalism in not making the revolution for us in America and even hindering our revolutionary class struggle, he nevertheless carries on active nationalist propaganda. For instance he states:

"Emphatically, however, we assert that our absorbing concern is with the colossal job on our own doorstep, building a revolutionary party in the U.S., rooted in American soil, its eyes fixed primarily upon American conditions and problems, attracting American workers who are concerned about their own situation."

We have already previously referred to a state-

ment of Muste's where he condemns the idea of a revolutionary international, because the American bosses will say that the American revolution is a plot of "a rival country". But the chauvinism whipped up here is a bit too outspoken. Muste therefore hastens to deny it and declares: "This is not chauvinism: it is the only way chauvinism will be defeated". This chauvinist orgy is also being accompanied by revolutionary phraseology.

To attract the revolutionary class conscious workers, to attract the petty-bourgeoisie, the reformists and the so-called progressive labor leaders, J. B. S. Hardman, the vice-chairman of this same Party, says that the A.W.P. will be a reformist Party. Here is what J. B. S. Hardman writes in *Labor Action* in discussing "What Kind of a Party":

> "But it was asked, will the American Workers' Party be a revolutionary mass Party? Well, it may not be quite the case. *Let us bear in mind that a revolutionary mass Party can't rise, let alone exist, at a time which is not revolutionary in the full meaning of the term.*"

Let no one think that this is just a slip of the tongue by one of the A.W.P. leaders, or lack of unanimity among the A.W.P. leadership concerning the class nature of this Party. J. B. S. Hardman explains his position very clearly. Hardman thinks that the working class can't build up a revolutionary mass party. He says that a revolutionary Party can only be "a party of individuals . . . who accept a certain minimum of revolutionary orientation, and are willing to be active propagandists for that minimum". Hardman however, thinks that at the present time in the United States "there are not enough of these to make a mass Party". The A.W.P. therefore pretends to be both revolutionary and reformist at the same time. But it is actually a bourgeois party, a social fascist party like its elder sister, the Socialist Party of America, the only difference being that it covers its treachery with "Left" pseudo-revolutionary phrases.

Of what concretely does the pragram of the A. W.P. consist and how do they propose to lead the workers to their emancipation? The founders of the A.W.P. express different views on this most important question. A. J. Muste says:

> "The A.W.P. is definitely and frankly revolutionary in purpose, organizing to achieve power for the abolition of the capitalist state, and to administer the economic and political resources of the nation for the benefit of the workers and the protection of the new state."

The question that comes immediately to one's mind is how does Muste propose to abolish this powerful armed capitalist state in the U.S.? How will he make the American capitalists give up the "resources of the nation for the benefit of the workers"? Muste has never yet explained this vital question. He deliberately dodges answering it and leaves himself a free hand so as to be able to indulge in all kinds of demagogy. Since Muste is against the dictatorship of the proletariat, therefore his talk of "the abolition of the capitalist state" represents "Leftist" demagogy.

The leaders of the A.W.P. however, supplement each other and change their roles when necessary. Here J. B. S. Hardman, the vice-chairman of the A.W.P., changes roles with A. J. Muste, the president. J. B. S. Hardman is now appearing as the advocate of the social revolution. In *Labor Action* of February 1, Hardman writes.

> "Our ultimate aim is to do away with what is commonly described as the capitalist system . . . an effective fight for this great change, which, we may as well realize, won't come otherwise unless by way of a true, thorough, and all inclusive *social* revolution." (our emphasis: A.W.).

This J. B. S. Hardman, the publicity agent for the N.R.A., wants the American workers to believe that the reformist party he is building will fight capitalism and will engage in a real complete and all embracing social revolution. In this connection it is also necessary to see what kind of a revolution the A. W. P. wants to have in America at the present imperialist stage of dying capitalism and of proletarian revolutions. In his article in the *Modern Monthly* of January 1934, Muste says: "It (A.W.P.) will make use of the teaching and example of revolutionary thinkers and workers of the past". Have no illusion. Muste does not think here of such revolutionary thinkers as Marx, Engels and Lenin. The A.W.P. is advising the toiling masses of the U.S. to get their guidance and inspiration from another source. In an editorial of the February 1 issue of *Labor Action* we read: "The American Workers' Party calls upon the workers, farmers and intellectuals of the United States to reaffirm the right of revolution as laid down in the *Declaration of Independence*". And the A.W.P., through its president, A. J. Muste, declares on the one hand that:

> "Capitalism is no longer in a position to make real improvements in the standards of living. It becomes a positive obstacle to the well being of the masses. It brings want in the very midst of plenty. It must be removed in order that a system that can make use, for the common good, of modern technology, may begin to function in its stead."

Nevertheless at the same time Muste wants the American proletariat, which lives in the epoch of dying capitalism, to be guided in its actions not by the *Communist Manifesto* but by the program of the formerly ascending young American bourgeoisie.

You are a bit too late, gentlemen of the A.W.P. The Declaration of Independence contains the aspirations of a class which has already outlived its political and historic mission. The coming ruling class, the proletariat, has a different program and will make an entirely different revolution than did the merchants and the manufacturers of the British colonies which were transformed into the United States.

With what social and economic system does the A.W.P. want to replace capitalism? In the world today there is a struggle between two systems, rising socialism and decaying capitalism. With what does the A.W.P. want to replace capitalism? Muste says that in the U.S. the A.W.P. is going to replace capitalism with "a fully scientific economic system which will provide plenty and security and freedom for the masses." From our own experience, however, we know that a planned economic system can only come through the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Muste and the A.W.P. are against the dictatorship of the proletariat, but only the dictatorship of the proletariat can set up a planned economic system, expropriate the capitalists, do away with private property in the means of production and hand them over to the proletarian state. But Muste proposes nothing of the kind, and all his talk about "planned economy" only reflects the tendencies of the capitalist dictatorship to further intensify the trustification of industry. As to the promise of plenty. Hoover also promised "plenty". He too promised a chicken in every pot, and to abolish poverty. There is nothing new in the A.W.P. in putting forward such demands as compared with other bourgeois parties. It can very well merge with the American Socialist Party, for the latter also has the slogan of "peace, freedom and plenty". However hard the A.W.P. tries to differentiate itself from the Socialist Party it is one and the same thing, except that it is not above covering itself with "Left" phrases. Muste accuses the Socialist Party of class collaboration policies, but this is exactly what the A.W.P. is also doing. Vice-Chairman J. B. S. Hardman writes in *Labor Action* of February 1, that the aim of the A.W.P. is "to establish a social system based on the organized and all-inclusive co-operation of all healthy and able bodied persons in the community and in the nation for the common good." Who are these "all healthy and able bodied persons"? Evidently, this does not apply to the working class only. None of the American capitalists are undernourished, nor are the members of the police force and bourgeois state machine, physical weaklings. Where then are the two classes? Where is the class struggle between workers and capitalists? Though Muste speaks of "class struggle", yet in its practical program the A.W.P denies it, and instead offers the workers "all inclusive co-operation of all healthy and able-bodied persons in the community and in the nation for the common good." Like the Socialist Party the A.W.P. is going to fight not for the independent class interests of the proletariat as against the bourgeoisie, but for the "common good of all able bodied persons in the community."

To complete the picture of the benefits of the new social system, the A.W.P. promises to the American workers, we shall again return to Muste. Muste already announces today what the workers are going to get in the new world to which the A.W.P. is leading them. What, according to Muste, are the highest aspirations of the working class? In *Labor Action* of January 17, 1934, Muste writes:

> "Social ownership of the earth's resources and *fair distribution* of goods has been a vague ideal for ages. The working class made it a practical political program. In *Russia*, under the leadership of the industrial working class, *that program* is actually being carried out for the first time in history on a large scale."

According to Muste, the highest ideal of the working class is a "fair distribution of goods". What is this "fair distribution of goods"? The working class today has nothing but its labor power while the capitalists have everything. Muste promises to take a little bit from the capitalists and give something to the workers, so that the capitalists and the workers will have a "fair share". We also have today big monopoly capitalists squeezing the small capitalists. Muste promises redistribution of this wealth so that the small capitalists will have a bit more and the monopoly capitalists a bit less. Muste is here definitely making advances to the anti-trust petty-bourgeoisie. Just as Roosevelt, the Socialists and the liberals speak of a "fair distribution of the national income", so does Muste also speak of a "fair distribution of goods". And this is what Muste makes the "Ideal" of the working class "for ages". Muste is doing everything possible to persuade the bourgeoisie that he has no desire to forcibly expropriate the capitalists. Muste is against the dictatorship of the proletariat that will completely annihilate the capitalist class as a class and wipe out the economic basis for its existence. No, he just wants a "fair distribution of goods".

To make the American workers swallow Roosevelt's program he is also telling them that this is exactly what the Russian Revolution has accomplished. The October Revolution has not only liquidated the big capitalists, but all capitalists. The October Revolution has established not a "fair distribution of goods" for the rich and the workers and the peasants alike, as he proposes. It has driven capitalists out completely and the workers and peasants are getting not a "fair distribution of goods", but all the goods

they produce. All that they create goes exclusively to themselves, and their proletarian state.

v.

Among the organizers of the A.W.P. there are not only the C.P.L.A. leaders, Muste, Budenz, Hardman, and others. They also include parlor radicals like Calverton, Professor Sidney Hook exposed by the C.P. as a revisionist of Marx, and the renegades of the Communist movement, especially the Trotskyites. Each one of that conglomeration of would-be leaders gives his own reasons for joining it. Professor Hook gives the explanation that the A.W.P. to him is "straightforward Communism" and also because this party is not going to interfere with his own views on "science, culture and philosophy". The Trotskyites join it because, as they said in their open letter to the A.W.P. (*Militant*, Jan. 27, 1934), they and the A.W.P. are "two organizations with the same objective in view". It is precisely the Trotskyites that we want to deal with at this point. The A.W.P. needs these renegades. They continue to be the odious weapon directed against the Communist Party and the Comintern and supply munition to the enemies of the revolutionary movement. At the same time they can serve as a "Communist" mask for the A.W.P., and pose as "Marxists". Muste appealed to all "those people who like ourselves cannot accept either the Second or the Third International today". Muste was followed by Hardman who extended this invitation and declared "every party is a possible fellow traveller. . . ."

What do the common interest of the Trotskyites consist of?

These same objectives are (1) To attempt to discredit the Communist Party and the Comintern, the organizers and leaders of the workers against capitalism, and thereby help capitalism to defeat the working class. (2) To undermine the prestige of the Soviet Union among the toiling masses and thereby help the imperialists in their war preparations against it.

Muste and the Trotskyites are the advance detachments of the imperialist bourgeoisie which is preparing a counter-revolutionary war on the U.S.S.R.

Finaly, the Trotskyites in America, as they do throughout the world, have openly allied themselves with the social-fascists.

The American workers are engaged in a struggle against the system of capitalist slavery against hunger, fascism and war. They will only be successful by following the road of the proletarian revolution, the road of the Communist Party, U.S.A., and the Communist International. All other roads bring defeat and prolong capitalist rule. And it is along the path of defeat that the A.W.P. leads the workers.

However, there will be sections of the American working class who as yet do not see this. There will be workers who will be caught by the revolutionary phraseology of the A.W.P. and the "Communist" talk of its Trotskyite components. It is not impossible that many workers will be fooled into joining the A.W.P. by thinking they are joining a revolutionary working class party and herein lies the danger. It is the duty of the Communist Party mercilessly to expose the pseudo-left phrases and combat the chauvinism and policy of class collaboration of the A.W.P. and its leaders. We must challenge the bourgeois essence of every one of their arguments, we must expose them in every working class audience. We must expose the A.W.P. even before it really becomes a party. We must show them up as splitters of the working class and as saviours of the bankrupt American Socialist Party, discredited renegades and reactionary labor leaders. This is the duty of every honest proletarian revolutionary. Social fascism is the main social support of the bourgeoisie within the ranks of the working class. Capitalism cannot be destroyed without destroying social fascism.

THE RESULTS OF THE BRITISH CONGRESS OF ACTION AND NATIONAL HUNGER MARCH

By R. McILHONE

THE Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. drew attention to the growth of the "revolutionary indignation of the masses." The armed uprising of the Austrian workers and the decisive actions of the French workers against fascism brilliantly confirmed the estimate given by the Thirteenth Plenum that the world is "closely approaching a new round of revolutions and wars" and that the masses are displaying more and more "their readiness to overthrow the intolerable yoke of the exploiting class."

The British bourgeoisie, supported by the reformist labor leaders, are frantically striving to demonstrate that Britain is free from such "violent" events as happened in Austria and France.

The results of the National Congress of Action and the Hunger March show clearly that the "revolutionary mass indignation of the workers" in Britain is rising to new heights and that the mass united front is being realized against the will of the reformists and under the slogans demanding that the leading role of the Party be strengthened.

During the course of the campaign for the election of delegates from the workers' organizations to the National Congress of Action and the preparations for the Hunger March, it was clear to all that the Communist Party was leading the movement. The workers were able to see in practice the difference in the line of mass struggle advocated by the Communists and the line of splitting and sabotage (which led to defeat) pursued by the reformists in the Labor Party and Trade Union leadership. From the very beginning of the campaign the capitalist press launched an offensive against the Marchers and the Congress. The government's unofficial organ, the *Daily Telegraph,* on January 22, referred to the March as a "callous exploitation of the workless" and pointed out that it "had been planned, and will be directed, by the Communist Party, whose avowed political method is the creation of disorder for revolutionary purposes."

The Minister of Labor carried the press campaign further by a threat to the Marchers that they would receive no relief while on the road. On January 23, the "sober" *Times* published a vituperative leading article declaring that the March and Congress were "part of a movement to overthrow the Constitution in a violent revolution and to establish a tyranny." The lead of these powerful mouthpieces of the British imperialists was taken up and operated by the hundred and one different local and provincial rags of newspapers throughout the country, all sounding the one note, *viz.,* that the March was "Moscow inspired," that it aimed at "violence against the Constitution," etc., etc.

Why does the British capitalist press show such alarm at the Hunger March and National Congress of Action? This question is connected not only with the internal, but also with the external policy of the British National Government. The destruction of the democratic parliamentary system in Germany and the violent, open, terrorist rule of Hitler has had a tremendous influence on the British, as on all, workers. The demagogy of the British reformists is not able to convince the workers that the social-democrats are not responsible for the victory of fascism in Germany. The British capitalists also study very closely the rule of fascism in Germany and they know that while the Hitler government is the government of the German banking magnates and they are at one with them in their policy of extermination of the revolutionary movement, at the same time they are still using the "democratic-parliamentary" machinery of government against the working class. But, nevertheless, under cover of their protestations about "democratic non-class" Britain, they are resorting to all kinds of measures to strengthen the state apparatus, which fulfills their wishes; transforming it into an open fascist weapon against the working class, and speeding up their preparations for war.

The British imperialists are alarmed at the growth of working class unity and struggle, especially because the growth of the mass movement in the imperialist mother country threatens to strengthen the struggle of the oppressed peoples throughout the British Empire, particularly in India, and Ireland.

Therefore, side by side with the campaign to discredit the Marchers and the Congress, the capitalists endeavored to show that the March was "Communist inspired" and that if the March proceeded within "constitutional" lines there would be no "trouble." The government was prepared to use the full force at its disposal in order to deal with such a menace. The entire London police force was mobilized, together with several thousands of special constables to aid the police.

The advance of the Marchers and the growth of support for the United Front Congress throughout the country compelled the government to change its methods. From dire threats to crush the March and Congress with all the forces at its command, the

attitude of the government changed on the approach of the main demonstrations and the opening of the Congress to an attempt to show that the March was "constitutional," that the liberty of the citizens was guaranteed by the law, etc., etc. A powerful influence on the complete change of attitude of the government was the heroic uprising in Austria and the mighty demonstrations in France. Alarmed at the Austrian and French events, the capitalists tried to direct the whole movement along bourgeois legalist channels.

But the British workers cannot be cajoled any longer into "limiting" their struggles to the desires of the capitalist democracy. The frenzied preparations of the ruling class show that they recognize that the workers are turning to the path of revolutionary action.

The Labor Party and the T.U.C. sabotaged the March and Congress from the start. They repeated after their capitalist masters the "warnings" as to the "inspired" character of the March. A typical "case" against the March was the statement of the Wallsend Socialist Lord Mayor that the Marchers were "simply wasting their time" and he advised the Wallsend unemployed "to await the improved trade conditions of which there is at least some prospect."

The Communist Party met this ferocious attack by the capitalists by a further call to the workers to intensify the struggle. The *Daily Worker* on January 25 made a stirring appeal to the workers to reply to the scurrilous campaign against the Hunger Marchers by driving ahead in every factory, trade union branch and workers' organization for support for the March and Congress. In the same appeal the *Daily Worker* correctly exposed the role of the reformist leaders who were sabotaging the March and Congress preparations.

The course of the Hunger March from Scotland, Tyneside, Lancashire, South Wales, Yorkshire, as it converged on London, had been one triumph after another over the tremendous difficulties and problems of the March. Throughout the whole journey the Marchers met with a mighty response from the workers, the whole country being roused by the wonderful example of the Marchers on the road. Similarly in the preparations in the trade union branches and other working class organizations for the election of delegates, while this was weak at the start, the March gave it an impetus and the Congress finally met with 1,420 delegates representing 320,000 workers.

The Hunger Marchers arrived in London on February 26, these delegates attending the Congress of Action on the previous day. The Congress and the Marchers joined together in a big demonstration of 100,000 London workers on a day of cold and rain. The whole character of the demonstration was indicative of the mass indignation of the workers and their willingness to go into revolutionary mass action against the ruling class. The demonstration showed that the Communist Party, basing itself on the decisions of the Thirteenth Plenum, especially to carry out the directives for mass work, can make very significant changes in the whole character of its work. Particularly important to note is that the preparations for the Congress and March in the character of this mass work were directed by the Party, despite the weaknesses, to the workers' organizations, to mass work in the reformist trade unions, and to linking the demands of the employed with the unemployed. This was emphasized in the large numbers of trade unions' banners displayed in the Hyde Park demonstration.

The capitalists, alarmed at the revolutionary events in Austria and France, hurriedly gave instructions to Lord Trenchard, at the head of the police forces, not to provoke the demonstrations. During the last Hunger March hundreds of agent-provocateurs were scattered throughout the crowds provoking the workers into fights, to more easily smash the demonstrations. On this occasion even the Mosley fascist bands were advised to stay indoors. At the same time the wonderful discipline and militancy displayed by the demonstrations in support of the Marchers effectively repulsed any efforts at provocation. Nevertheless, a terrific concentration of police strength was organized. The maneuvers of the police were organized from the top of Marble Arch by wireless. The *Daily Express* states on February 26:

> "The park was blue with policemen. Posses of mounted men tethered their horses at various strategic points. There were wireless vans and squad cars by the score. Scotland Yard chiefs perched themselves on the top of Marble Arch to direct operators. More police chiefs in a room at Scotland Yard received telephone messages every time an approaching procession rounded a corner. Reserves were massed at every convenient point near the park. The quadrangle at Scotland Yard was filled with police vans—some disguised as ordinary commercial vehicles—ready to rush reinforcements to any place where disorder was threatened."

The guards were strengthened at Buckingham Palace. It was evident that despite the press campaign to the effect that the Marchers were going to Parliament begging with cap in hand, the authorities were well aware of the real situation and the fighting preparedness of the workers.

A further police "precaution" was the arrests of Harry Pollitt, the popular leader of the Communist Party, and the courageous veteran of many a class fight, 77-year-old Tom Mann, on charges of "inciting to mutiny". The arrests called forth such a mighty

protest from all quarters that the police were compelled to release Pollitt and Mann on bail, and have postponed the trial.

Fourteen hundred and twenty delegates attended the National Congress of Action, representing approximately 320,000 workers. Two hundred and twenty trade union branches from 45 different unions were represented. From the important transport unions no less than 43 branches sent 81 delegates to the Congress of Action despite the fact that the Railway Vigilant Movement Conference was being held on the same day with 155 delegates present

The outstanding features of the National Congress were, first, that it was a Congress of mass struggle, a Congress for the development of the united front of the workers against starvation, fascism and war.

Secondly, it was a Congress which proceeded under the leadership of the Communist Party of Great Britain. Thirdly, it was a Congress which recognized that the only way out of the crisis is through the path of revolutionary mass struggle against the capitalists for the overthrow of capitalism and its substitution by the power of the working class.. For the Congress there was only one way out, and cheers greeted those Communist speeches which mentioned the growing industrial might of the Soviet Union. Above all, the slogan of the Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I.—the chief slogan of the Communist International—was met with rounds of applause by the delegates when the representative of the Hunger Marchers resolutely pointed to this as the only way forward.

The speech of Comrade Pollitt, read out by Comrade Gallagher, set the whole tone to the Congress. In his speech Comrade Pollitt unfolded in clear and simple language the way forward which the workers must take in order to free themselves from the capitalist system of exploitation, fascism and war. Comrade Pollitt brought forward on behalf of the Communist Party a program of action based on the needs of the masses, a program for provision of work and wages, for new houses, schools, for social insurance. Comrade Pollitt exposed the labor leadership which covers up the sabotage of the united front struggles by parliamentary speeches and advice to wait until the next Labor government. He showed how the workers' Soviet Power would put an end to hunger and unemployment, organizing production for use and not for profit, that it would confiscate the banks, the land, factories and transport from the capitalists. The Soviet Power would free the peoples of Ireland, India and all oppressed nationalities from the yoke of British imperialism and establish a fraternal alliance with them for the common tasks of socialist construction.

The Party issued a manifesto to the Congress which was also distributed in mass quantities to the workers. In this manifesto the Party brought forward its slogans: "Into Action for Work, Food and Peace", "Employed and Unemployed, Together Against the National Government," "Forward in the Struggle Against Fascism," "Into the Ranks of the Communist Party," "Forward to Socialism Through Soviet Power in Britain," "Labor and Social-Democracy Can Bring Only Treachery and Defeat, the Communist Party Raises the Standard of Unity, Courage, Revolution and Victory."

> "We call on all workers to read well the lessons of Soviet Russia, Soviet China, Germany, Austria and Spain, and to take their place in the ranks of the only Party of the working class, the Party of Marx and Lenin, Stalin and Dimitroff, the international Communist Party." (From the Party Manifesto to the Congress.)

The speeches of the delegates from factory, mine, trade union branch, Labor Party organizations, cooperative guilds, etc., breathed the spirit of realization that they had rejected the road of bourgeois parliamentary democracy and saw that the only way forward was through the mass united front.

The Congress Resolution proposed in the United Front Committee which organized the March and Congress, which otherwise dealt in a very popular way with the perspectives for the united front fight against the Bill, was subjected to criticism by the Communist delegate, Kerrigan, a leader of the Scottish Hunger Marchers. Kerrigan, on behalf of the C.P., brought forward an amendment to the resolution that it should specifically refer to the responsibility of the Labor Party Executive and T.U.C. General Council for splitting the United Front.

This amendment was met with the applause of the delegates to the Congress. The C.P. brought forward well-thought-out, clear and concrete proposals which were based on the experience of the struggle of the British working class and of the treacherous part played in this struggle by the reformists of the Labor Party and of the General Council of the T.U.C., as well as on the revolutionary experience of the international proletariat and especially of the proletariat of the U.S.S.R. and the tremendous victories it has achieved.

In contrast to this was the hesitating, compromising and confusing line put forward at the Congress by the representatives of the N.A.C. of the I.L.P. Following upon Kerrigan's speech, Mr. Carmichael of the I.L.P. opposed the amendment (which was met by the whole-hearted support of the Congress), on the grounds that such an amendment would strengthen the hands of the bureaucracy and stimulate them to make further attacks on the militants. The delegates strenuously rejected this attempt to

capitulate before the attacks of the T.U.C. and Labor Party leaders. Mr. McGovern criticized the C.P. platform from the "Left" with the argument that it was useless to put forward such a concrete platform, that it was not our business as revolutionaries to demand plans of work, that revolutionaries should in general "fight for the needs of the workers", "for Socialism," etc. However, the Congress adopted the program of action proposed by the Communist delegates.

The I.L.P. leaders had already published their line for the Congress in the *New Leader* of February 23. Their demand was:

> ". . . it is necessary to unite all the forces of the working class, industrial, political and cooperative, employed and unemployed, and those as yet unorganized. Such unity can only be realized by sectional interests sinking their differences in a common cause and all collaborating on a basis of equality and comradeship."

This attempt, under the slogan of "Unity of all forces of the working class", to get the workers to forget the treacherous betrayal of social-democracy in Germany, Austria and France, and to cover up the responsibility of the Labor Party Executive Committee and T.U.C. for splitting the united front, received no support from the Congress.

The resolution of the Congress of Action clearly and precisely indicated the next steps which must be taken by the working class in order to combat the measures of the government against the unemployed and employed workers. The resolution unfolds a program of united front demands covering the abolition of the Means Test and Anomalies Act: for increased relief for the unemployed; feeding of school children, restoration of benefit rights under the National Health Insurance Act; introduction of the 40-hour week; the 7-hour day for miners; increase of 10 per cent in wages; free assembly and speech; the building of 500,000 houses; construction schemes to give work, housing, schools and hospitals; and a series of demands for the working youth.

Under the keynote of "Action", the Congress resolution points the next steps through nation-wide demonstrations against the Bill; action conferences in the localities to carry the struggle further; mass refusals to enter the labor camps, the organization of all forms of strike action against the Bill and for the Congress demands, against class collaboration and Mondism; the building of factory committees and strong trade union branches. *The face of the Congress is turned towards the masses.* This is the basic idea contained in the Congress resolution. This is due to the firm line maintained by the Communist Party to this end from the commencement of the Congress.

The demonstrations of the Marchers in London at Hyde Park, *and inside the House of Commons itself,* culminated in a mighty demonstration at Trafalgar Square on March 4 of 100,000 workers. Comrades Pollitt and Mann were greeted with enthusiasm. Once more Comrade Pollitt, facing a charge of "incitement to mutiny", clearly and emphatically unfolded the Communist program. Once more Comrade Pollitt declared that there was only one way to emancipate the proletariat, and that was the path leading to Soviet Power in England.

The mass activity generated by the Hunger March and Congress among the London workers had followed sharply on the Austrian and French events. The Congress and March sent their greetings to the heroic Austrian workers.

The mass activity of the London workers in support of the Marchers and Congress caused a big flutter among the members of the House of Commons, who were discussing the Bill. The government was compelled to make some concessions, leaving the maternity allowances untouched in assessing needs, a concession to the pensioned ex-soldiers, an alteration of a clause dealing with the condition for benefit "not genuinely seeking work."

The Labor Party, which had resolutely opposed the March from the start, attempted to utilize the situation under mass pressure to make a show of opposition to the government and supported the motion of Buchanan (I.L.P.) that the Marchers be allowed to present their case to Parliament. (Even members of the Liberal Party gave some "support" to the Marchers by voting for the Marchers to be heard.) The deputy leader of the Labor Party was compelled to draw attention to the fact "that the feeling in the country was tremendous".

The maneuvers of the Labor Party in the House of Commons and the opposition of the I.L.P. speakers was seized upon by the capitalist press and given the greatest publicity, particularly the remarks of these speakers where they emphasized time and again the "peaceful", "constitutional", character of the March. The speeches of the Labor Party and the I.L.P. representatives were full of protestations that the Marchers "had come orderly, quietly and decently". (Buchanan.) "The Prime Minister, instead of lowering the dignity of his office, would have raised its prestige by meeting them to a higher grandeur than it had yet known". (Buchanan.) This is addressed to MacDonald, the head of the most hated government in British modern politics, the Socialist-turned-Conservative, open exponent of the crushing and further oppression of the workers and the colonial peoples, the head of the government which is organizing the counter-revolutionary war on the Soviet Union, which is preparing fascism in Britain.

The I.L.P. welcomed this "opposition" of the Labor Party on the pages of the *New Leader.* In-

stead of exposing the fact that Atler and his colleagues fought bitterly against the March, split the united front, the I.L.P. leaders were intent on securing a "parliamentary" success.

> "All honor to the members who went into the lobby in support of the claim of the unemployed to be heard." (*New Leader*, March 2, 1934.)

In connection with the Hunger March, revolutionary representatives of the proletariat could have received an example of how to bring the class struggle into Parliament, to break through the "dignity" and "procedure" of the "democratic" machine, and expose to the masses the naked class character of this "constitution", to tear aside the veil of parliamentary democracy and reveal to the masses its true nature as the dictatorship of the ruling class. But as against this, the I.L.P. leaders displayed a sorry spectacle in the House of Commons. (Maxton even asked MacDonald to let the Marchers into Parliament as a personal favor.)

The mass activity of the Marchers succeeded in breaking through the barrage of "parliamentary" speeches when 500 Marchers made their way in small groups into the "prohibited" area round Parliament and 200 succeeded in occupying the public galleries and lobby, singing revolutionary songs, interrupting the debates with shouts, "Down with the National Government", "In the Soviet Union there is no unemployment". For the first time in the history of the "great British Parliament", policemen were to be seen in physical combat with the Marchers. The mighty fist of the British proletariat smashed through the gaudy and pompous dignity and decorum of the House of Commons.

The rank and file members of the I.L.P. will understand that during the March and Congress and in the estimation of its results, the question of the unification of the revolutionary forces in Britain, the sympathetic affiliation of the I.L.P. to the Communist International is one that cannot be separated from the everyday struggle in Britain. It must be clear now to the I.L.P. rank and file that the line of the Communist Party of Great Britain is the only line for the firm, unswerving development of the struggle against fascism, hunger and war, and that the C.P.G.B. was not only able to give daily leadership in the preparation of the campaign but also that its whole work for the Congress in the practical program of action, in the lead given for the further development of the struggle, the line of the C.P.G.B. was the only political line for developing a decisive struggle against fascism, hunger and war. They must appreciate that the C.P.G.B. was not only able to insure day to day leadership in the preparation of the present campaign but that in all the work preparatory to the Congress and in the elaboration of the practical program of action, and in the leadership of the further development of the struggle, the line of the C.P.G.B. was the only correct one, insuring the success of the whole campaign. The March and Congress justified the analysis and decisions of the Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. in its estimation of the present period and fully justified its decisions on the need to turn the main attention to mass work. The Congress and the March, therefore, give further impetus to the movement to unite the revolutionary forces in Britain, and the Yorks Conference of the I.L.P. at Easter must give this aspect serious consideration. It is not without significance that during the time of the March, the Yorks Revolutionary Policy Committee, one of the rank and file committees created to fight for a revolutionary policy in the I.L.P., should issue its manifesto declaring for one mass revolutionary Party, for the sympathetic affiliation of the I.L.P. to the C.I., for the dictatorship of the proletariat and a condemnation of the line of the N.A.C.

The carrying out of the Hunger March and Congress justifies the following conclusions:

1. That despite the protestations of the national government and the reformists that the "tide of prosperity has turned"; of Britain's reputation for "law and order"; the revolutionary mass indignation of the workers is growing. This is resulting in the strengthening by the government of measures to meet the growing revolutionary activity of the working masses, steps towards fascization of the state, a process in which the Unemployment Bill is to play a big part. The sharpening of the class struggle, as well as the war plans of the government, is heading events rapidly in the direction of a ministerial crisis in the national government.

The demand for the removal of MacDonald is growing in the Conservative ranks, and it is said that the Liberal Simon is to be removed from the job of Foreign Secretary. The mailed fist of British imperialism is being rapidly uncovered from its traditional "democratic" "kid gloves".

2. The Communist Party, basing itself on the decisions of the Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I., is making a serious effort to carry through these decisions, to make a turn in its mass work, especially among the masses of unemployed and in the reformist trade union branches. In this work the revolutionary workers in the I.L.P. can assist immeasurably in making this turn. But for them it is necessary that a choice be made—for the N.A.C., with its false slogan of "sinking all differences", even with the reformist leadership of the Labor Party and T.U.C.—or with the Communist International, the world party of the revolutionary proletariat uniting the world's oppressed, and leading the working class along the victorious path of the Russian workers of

the Soviet Union, where socialism has achieved successes of world historic importance.

3. Despite many weaknesses and hesitations the Party was able to bring forward clearly and sharply its exposure of the role of the social-democrats. This is particularly important in view of the fact that the labor leadership were "capitalizing" the blood of the Austrian workers, the heroic battles of the Socialist rank and file, who, together with the Austrian Communist Party, stood firmly until death at their posts while Otto Bauer ran away, stood there in spite of the treacherous advice, theory and practice of the Second International headed by Otto Bauer and Henderson.

4. Lastly, the Party was able to popularize the chief slogan of the Communist International—Soviet Power, both by the speeches of the Party delegates, in the Manifesto, in the speech of Comrade Pollitt in the Congress and in the Trafalgar Square demonstration. The Party was able to give a clear lead to the Congress and demonstrations on the way forward, the development of newer and higher forms of struggle against the national government.

The Congress and March indicates that a new wave of mass struggles is commencing in Britain, that the masses are deeply discontented with the policy of the National Government of hunger, fascism and war. The March and campaign show that this mass discontent can be directed by the Communist Party into revolutionary mass struggle against capitalism *despite the will* of the reformist leaders. The Communist Party has gained new tens of thousands of workers to participate in the United Front struggles and with the aid of new thousands of revolutionary workers from the lower organizations (signatories from trade union branches, Trade Councils, Labor Parties, etc.) succeeded in penetrating with its message into these workers' organizations, despite the campaign of the trade union and Labor Party bureaucracy. The Communist Party achieved this with the active revolutionary workers in the ranks of the Independent Labor Party, scores of whom participated in the work of initiating and developing the March and Congress.

Systematically throughout the campaign the Party brought out clearly before the workers its own leading role, and displayed initiative in making its own independent proposals to the Marchers and Congress. The whole course of the March and Congress was a burning example to the workers of the difference between Communism and reformism, between the revolutionary line on the one hand and the policy of a "Third Labor Government" on the other.

The Party, in putting forward its amendment to the Congress resolution, and which called for the condemnation of the labor and trade union leaders, found that this met with a response from the Congress. However, the Party, faced with the opposition from the I.L.P., made a "compromise" with the I.L.P. on the amendment. The amendment which was put forward "in the joint name" of the C.P. and I.L.P. by Mr. McGovern then read:

> "Congress notes the opposition of the General Council of the Trade Union Congress, and the Labor Party Executive to the campaign for the March and Congress. It demands that they remove the ban on the United Front, as all those who in this hour of danger oppose this United Front are splitting the workers' ranks and helping the capitalist offensive."

Was this "compromise" necessary? No. It was not necessary. The Congress had already shown its opposition to the line of the reformist leaders. Those comrades who described this as a "capitulation" of the I.L.P. leadership to the Party amendment fail to understand that the I.L.P. leadership had already shown its reformist character by trying to "soften" the blows on the labor reformists.

On the first news of the Austrian uprising the C.P. directed a letter to the Labor Party, making practical proposals for the organization of support to the Austrian and French workers in their fight against fascism. The Independent Labor Party also made a general appeal for "unity". The Labor Party replied to the I.L.P. and expressed the opinion that there was room in the Labor Party for those who cared to come in. This open invitation to the I.L.P. leaders to come back to the Labor Party was accompanied by another letter to the C.P. from the Labor Party denouncing the Communists and repeating their refusal to participate in the United Front.

The replies from the Labor Party to the I.L.P. and C.P. in connection with the proposals made for the organization of United Front support to the Austrian and French workers, made this "compromise" doubly unnecessary. The fact that the Labor Party invited the N.A.C. to return to the Labor Party shows exactly where the N.A.C. stands in the opinion of the Labor bureaucracy.

The Hunger Marchers carried ont in London in the working class areas an intensive campaign of demonstrations, factory gate meetings, etc. In this way they succeeded in forming a strong link between themselves and the London employed workers, which was revealed in the 100,000-strong demonstration on March 4. But it is necessary to recognize that there was a tendency to "limit" the activity of the Marchers to everything within the "limits of the law and the constitution". The intensive work of the Marchers was feebly connected with the fight to secure admittance of the Marchers to the House of Commons, and the Hunger Marchers' wonderful stand outside in the streets threatened to be overshadowed by the "pleadings" of the Labor and I.L.P. parlia-

mentary leaders who were out to secure a "parliamentary success".

The Congress elected a National Committee to lead the campaign in the next period. This Committee was elected on the proposal of the I.L.P. to include in it the signatories of the Manifesto which called the Congress (Harry Pollitt, C.P., Maxton, I.L.P., Tagger, Distributive Workers Union, Alex Gossip, General Secretary, National Union of Furnishing Workers, J. Tanner, London Organizer, Amalgamated Engineers Union, Wal. Hannington, Unemployed Movement), *i.e.*, individual representatives from national organizations, with the addition of two representatives from each national organization supporting the Congress. The weakness of this Committee is that it does not represent the delegates to the Congress, that there are no rank and file workers on it, which means it will find difficulty in carrying out its work unless, during the course of the struggles for the Congress demands, new forces are brought forward more closely connected with the lower organizations of the workers.

The positive achievements of the Hunger March and Congress, as well as the weaknesses of the campaign, must be thoroughly discussed by the whole Party. We must understand that the results of the Congress and March would have been so much greater had the whole Party been mobilized for the carrying through of the campaign. Not all the Party, however, properly understood the meaning of the March and Congress, and particularly weakly organized was the work of the Party members in the reformist trade unions. At the same time there were sentiments in certain sections of the Party that there could be no successful hunger march before "guarantees" were had that the March would be supported by the trade union organizations. In both cases they tended to weaken the preparations. Another factor of this weakly developed trade union work was the fact that the Railway Vigilance Movement was organizing a separate conference on the same day in London, indicating a separation of the work of the Party members in the Vigilance Movement from the Party work, divorcing this important section of workers from the work of the Congress and March.

In fighting for the carrying out of the resolutions of the Congress, the Party must center the maximum attention on the organization of strike action against the Bill, and to rouse the workers against the reformist bureaucracy.

In discussing the results of the March and Congress the Communist Party will be able to see that the positive achievements give us the possibility of greater confidence in turning the face of the Party to the masses, especially for the mass work in the reformist trade unions and factories, and on the basis of these results to carry through in the Party an intensified drive to mobilize every member for the carrying out of the decisions of the Thirteenth Plenum. With this turn to mass work we must never for a moment ease up from the most merciless exposure of the treacherous social-democrats — the labor leaders and the Trades Union Congress. More and more sharply must now be put before every Labor Party worker: Choose! Reformism and Fascism! or Soviet Power and Socialism!

The British working class movement is beginning to turn away from the traditional path of "democracy". It is taking up new methods of struggle, which the Second International heroes, Henderson and MacDonald, declared were "incompatible" with British conditions. The Labor Party is frantically maneuvering to split and disorganize the workers before the advance of fascism. The first steps of the revolutionary mass fight, the Hunger March and Congress, indicate that the reformists will fail in this task—that the Communists will extend the mass movement.

Particularly clearly stands out more and more urgently the need for recruitment and building the Party. The whole Party membership must be mobilized to consolidate our growing influence into organization to take advantage of the extremely favorable situation for building a mass Communist Party, and smashing once and for all the influence of the British reformists over the working class. The mass struggles of the British workers, commencing a new wave by the Hunger March and Congress, will be developed on a broader scale and turn into higher forms of struggle only if in the course of the present daily struggle the Communist Party strengthens its mass connections, recruits new forces, and takes the path firmly and determinedly to win the majority of the British workers.

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